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FRANCES A. YATES

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THE GROUNDWORK OF BRITISH HISTORY

BY

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Part II

From the Union of the Crowns to the Present Day

BY

C. H. K. MARTEN, M.A.

BLACKIE & SON LTD. 50 OLD BAILEY LONDON
GLASGOW AND BOMBAY

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PREFACE

In giving the name *The Groundwork of British History* to this book, the writers seek to make clear the plan on which it is constructed.

If in reading it a boy comes to carry with him some idea of the origin and sequence and relation of events, and gains some notion of history *as a whole*, he is beginning to build on what may be called a groundwork. Much will remain to be learnt and many details to be added, but these will fall naturally into their places, if the mind is already prepared with a groundwork or general plan on which to fit them.

If, on the other hand, there is no such groundwork in his mind, additional knowledge may merely produce additional confusion. Every teacher in history is only too familiar with the painful method of "learning"—so called—by which a boy will get up some pages of a book so thoroughly as to be able to answer every question on the pages set, and yet have no grip of his history as a whole. Take him "outside the lesson" and he is at once bewildered and lost—with perhaps a suppressed sense of injustice; feeling that to ask questions "outside the lesson" is not playing the game.

Such a perplexed learner often deserves more sympathy than he gets. He dutifully burdens his memory with all the names and dates and facts which he finds on the pages prescribed, not knowing which are the most important, not having been taught to connect events with

their past causes or their future developments. Now and again his memory, being unsupported by any general sense of *where he is*, plays him false, and he produces those grotesque onslaughts upon chronology and probability with which we are all acquainted.

It is to meet such difficulties that our book is directed. Our aim is to provide the reader with a groundwork at once solid and broad-based, upon which increasing knowledge may gradually be built; to trace out the main threads of British history, omitting small and unfruitful details; to treat events in logical sequence by pursuing one subject at a time; and to concentrate the mind upon what was the chief policy or course of action in each age.

In order to do this the book strives to encourage the faculties of understanding and reason rather than mere memory; and to make boys think why things happened and what the consequences were. For example, in the seventeenth century, the chief place is given to the struggle between King and Parliament, whilst in the eighteenth century the series of great wars, the story of domestic politics, the "Industrial Revolution" and its effects, are made the subject of separate chapters. And, in the later portions of the history, particular attention has been paid to the growth and development of the British Empire, and to the various social and economic changes that occurred in Great Britain during the nineteenth century.

The method is the same as that followed in Mr. Warner's *Brief Survey of British History*, but the book is intended for those who have got beyond the elementary outlines, and who require a general view of the broadening stream of our national history.

Mr. Marten would like to thank Mr. Urquhart, Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, and Mr. G. W. Headlam, his colleague at Eton, for kindly reading the proof sheets, and the Rev. A. B. Beaven, of Leamington, and Professor Hearnshaw for providing valuable lists of *corrigenda*.

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Part II

FROM THE UNION OF THE CROWNS TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

C. H. K. MARTEN, M.A.

PART II

XXV. The First Two Stuarts and their Foreign Policy

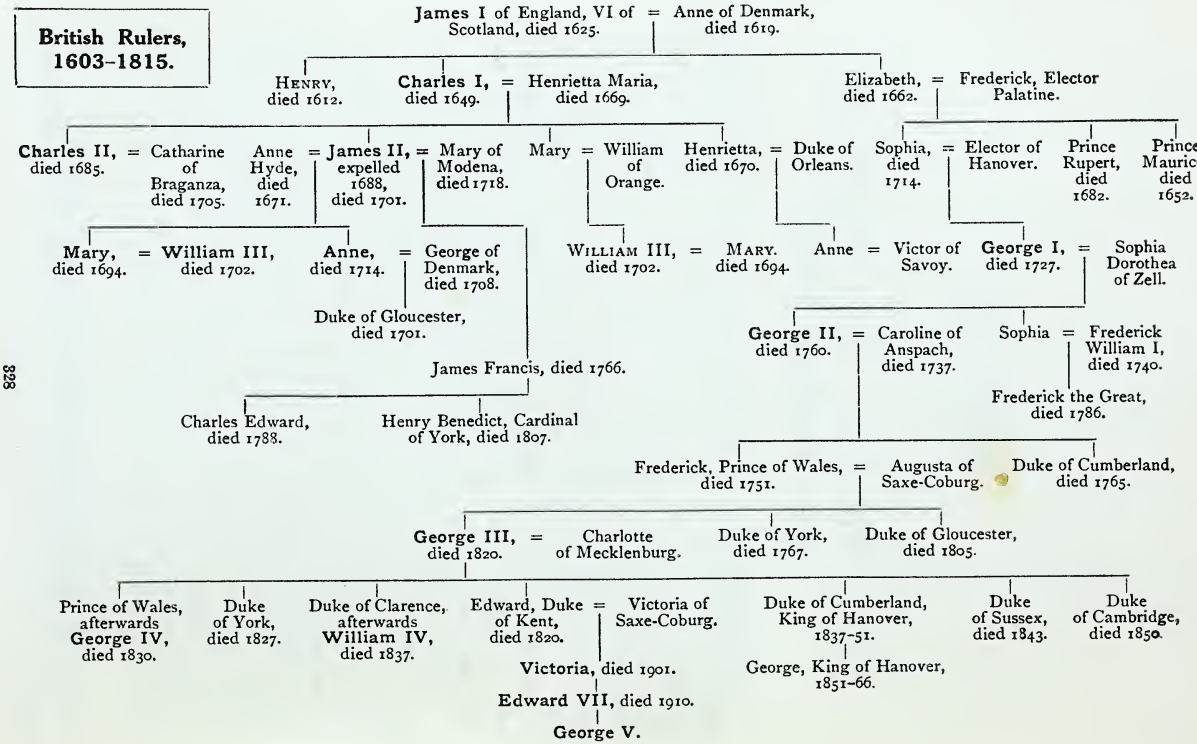
The development of England at every stage has been largely influenced by the character of its monarchs. But it may be doubted whether at any other period more depended upon the character of the sovereign than during the first half of the Seventeenth Century, when, as we shall see, most difficult questions arose both at home and abroad. It will be as well, therefore, to say something at once about the first two kings of the house of Stuart who sat upon the English throne—about James I, who succeeded Queen Elizabeth in 1603, and reigned till 1625, and his son, Charles I, who reigned from 1625 till 1649.

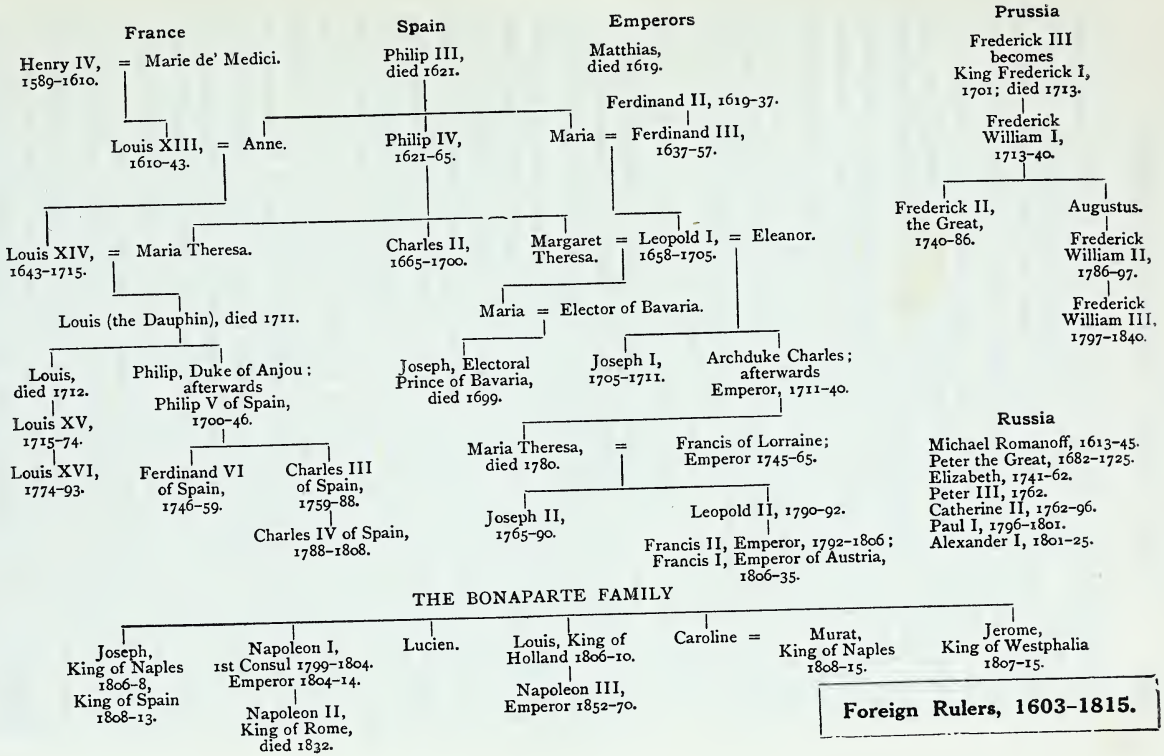
James I has been described as the most learned man who ever occupied a British throne. He was highly educated. In his youth he was something of a prodigy,[1] and in later life he wrote tolerable verses, whilst his speeches and prose writings were vigorous and clever.[2] He was exceptionally well informed, especially in theology, and well versed in foreign politics. Moreover, not only was he a great reader, but a great rider as well; he was fond of all forms of exercise, and was a mighty hunter. He was humorous, and not without shrewdness. "Bring stools for the ambassadors," was his remark when a deputation came from the House of Commons in 1621, James

Character of James I.

[1] At the age of ten "he was able, *extempore*," wrote a contemporary, "to read a chapter out of the Bible out of Latin into French, and out of French after into English".

[2] His writings include *A Counterblast to Tobacco*, a violent attack upon the practice of smoking.


British Rulers, 1603–1815.
James I of England, VI of Scotland, died 1625.
Anne of Denmark, died 1619.
Henry, died 1612.
Charles I, died 1649.
Henrietta Maria, died 1669.
Elizabeth, died 1662.
Frederick, Elector Palatine.
Charles II, died 1685.
Catharine of Braganza, died 1705.
Anne Hyde, died 1671.
James II, expelled 1688, died 1701.
Mary of Modena, died 1718.
Mary
William of Orange.
Henrietta, died 1670.
Duke of Orleans.
Sophia, died 1714.
Elector of Hanover.
Prince Rupert, died 1682.
Prince Maurice, died 1652.
Mary, died 1694.
William III, died 1702.
Anne, died 1714.
George of Denmark, died 1708.
Duke of Gloucester, died 1701.
William III, died 1702.
Mary. died 1694.
Anne
Victor of Savoy.
George I, died 1727.
Sophia Dorothea of Zell.
James Francis, died 1766.
George II, died 1760.
Caroline of Anspach, died 1737.
Sophia
Frederick William I, died 1740.
Frederick the Great, died 1786.
Charles Edward, died 1788.
Henry Benedict, Cardinal of York, died 1807.
Frederick, Prince of Wales, died 1751.
Augusta of Saxe-Coburg.
Duke of Cumberland, died 1765.
George III, died 1820.
Charlotte of Mecklenburg.
Duke of York, died 1767.
Duke of Gloucester, died 1805.
Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV, died 1830.
Duke of York, died 1827.
Duke of Clarence, afterwards William IV, died 1837.
Edward, Duke of Kent, died 1820.
Victoria of Saxe-Coburg.
Duke of Cumberland, King of Hanover, 1837–51.
Duke of Sussex, died 1843.
Duke of Cambridge, died 1850.
Victoria, died 1901.
George, King of Hanover, 1851–66.
Edward VII, died 1910.
George V.



Foreign Rulers, 1603–1815.

recognizing that it was becoming, in some sense, a rival power to himself. "You will live to have your bellyful of impeachments," was his prophetic reply when his son Charles pressed him to sanction the impeachment of one of his ministers. He was a thoroughly well-meaning man, with every intention of doing his duty. "He felt himself", as it has been humorously put, "as an enormous brood fowl set over his new kingdom, and would so fain gather it all under his wings." He was a man also of large ideas. In an age of war his motto was *Beati pacifici*. In an age of persecution he was in favour of toleration, and desired an understanding with the Pope and a cessation of religious controversy. Almost alone he saw the great value of the political union between England and Scotland, a union which was not, however, to be achieved till 1707.

Perhaps it is not quite true and even if true it was not his fault that James, in Macaulay's words, had an "awkward figure, a rickety walk, and a slobbering mouth"; but his personal appearance, if it was neither ludicrous nor displeasing, was at all events not prepossessing, and his personal habits were not all of them nice. Unfortunately, however, apart from that, the defects of James more than counterbalanced his virtues. He was indolent, averse to taking trouble, and he refused to think out details. He was timid and lacking in decision, as he showed in his foreign policy. He might have large ideas, but they were vague and formless. He was prodigiously conceited, and no flattery of this "Solomon of England", as he was called by his courtiers, was too fulsome for him; and, finally, he was pedantic and loquacious to a degree which would have provoked any English House of Commons at any period. James was, in truth, unsympathetic and tactless, and, as was natural in a Scot brought up in Scotland, entirely ignorant of the ordinary opinions of the ordinary Englishman. The French king once called James "the wisest fool in Christendom"—perhaps that is the best description of him.

The portraits of Vandyck and the fate of the martyred king have combined to prejudice most people in favour of Charles I.

Character of Charles I.

And, indeed, he was not without many attractive characteristics. He was a thorough gentleman, devoted to his wife and children, artistic (before the Civil War he

had acquired the best picture gallery in Europe[1]), and fond of good literature, and more especially of Shakespeare. Moreover, he was a hard worker at the business of his kingdom. But as a ruler he showed his worst side. He was a silent, obstinate, self-absorbed, unimaginative man, who never knew what anyone else was thinking about. He was absolutely untrustworthy; he would make promises, but with all sorts of mental and private reservations, and consequently he often failed to keep them. No one who has not followed his intrigues in detail, either at home or with foreign powers, can understand how difficult he was to deal with. He would pursue at the same time three or four contradictory plans, and it is not surprising, therefore, that his policy should have been futile. It might be said of him, as was said of another ruler, "that his head was as full of schemes as a warren was full of rabbits, and, like rabbits, his schemes went to ground to avoid notice or antagonism".

Such was the character of the two kings. We must now see in what manner they dealt with the problems which faced them. We may take, first, those that arose in foreign affairs, since the desire to get money to take part in foreign politics profoundly affected the relations between the Stuart kings and their parliaments. In some respects England's position in 1603 was far more secure than it had been before. When James VI of Scotland became James I of England these two countries, after hundreds of years of rivalry, were at last united under one king. Hitherto, for England's Continental foes, Scotland had been the most convenient of allies; when English energies were absorbed in foreign wars Scotland always had the opportunity of making an invasion, an opportunity of which she not infrequently took advantage. But henceforth, Scotland is, generally speaking, the ally and not the foe of England in her foreign undertakings. Moreover, there were no rivals to the throne whom foreign powers could support, and the succession seemed secure. Again, there was no danger to be apprehended from Spain. Englishmen during the first half of the seventeenth

Position of England in 1603.

[1] Unfortunately the Commonwealth sold most of the pictures after the king's execution; and they are now to be found in various foreign collections, and especially in Paris, Madrid, and St. Petersburg.

century, and even later, continued to hate the Spaniards, but they no longer had reason to fear them. Consequently England was not vitally concerned in affairs on the Continent, as she had been under Elizabeth through fear of Spain's ambitions, and as she was to be later, owing to the ambitions of France.

Foreign policy before 1618.

We need not concern ourselves with James I's policy in the years previous to 1618. Until his death, in 1612, *Lord Salisbury*, James I's minister, had the controlling influence, and a cautious policy of peace was pursued. After Lord Salisbury's death, James designed marriages for two of his children. One, *Elizabeth*, later known from her great beauty as the "Queen of Hearts", married, in 1613, the Elector Palatine of the Rhine, the grandson of William of Orange and the leader of the Calvinistic party in Germany. On the other hand, for his son *Charles*, James designed a marriage with the daughter of the King of Spain, the great champion of the Papacy. With this object he opened negotiations in 1617, negotiations which, though they ended in failure, were regarded with great suspicion and disfavour by James's subjects.

Condition of Germany in 1618.

In 1618 there broke out in Germany the war known as "*the Thirty Years War*".[1] The war developed into a gigantic European struggle, which gradually drew in all the chief states in Europe, and it was destined to have vast consequences. To understand the war, and the part Great Britain played in it, something must first be said as to the condition of Germany at this period. Germany, in the seventeenth century, consisted of some three hundred states bound together in a confederation called the Holy Roman Empire, at its head being an Elected Emperor who held office for life. There was a good deal of friction between the rulers of the various states as to the constitution of Germany, some wanting to tighten the bonds of the Confederation and to exalt the powers of the emperor, and others holding contrary opinions. But, of course, the great line of division in Germany at that time was between the Protestants and Roman Catholics, the former being on the whole predominant in the north and the latter in the south of Germany.

[1] The actual war did not break out till 1619.

CENTRAL EUROPE
at the time of the
Thirty Years War
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
English Miles
Boundary of the Empire
Austrian possessions
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN
IRELAND
ENGLAND
SCOTLAND
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
POLAND
PRUSSIA
BOHEMIA
HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
SWITZERLAND
PAPAL STATES
TUSCANY
Hamburg
Berlin
Dresden
Leipsic
Lutter
Minden
Cologne
Frankfort
Amsterdam
Antwerp
Brussels
Bristol
London
Dover
Calais
Paris
La Rochelle
Vienna
Prague
Bavaria
Milan
Venice
Florence
Turin
R. Vistula
R. Oder
R. Elbe
R. Weser
R. Rhine
R. Danube
R. Po
R. Rhone
R. Loire
R. Seine

In 1619 an event occurred which brought on a crisis. The most important person in Germany was the head of the *House of Hapsburg*, and he was always elected Emperor.[1] Not only did he govern large Austrian dominions, but he ruled Hungary as well. In addition to this, he was King of Bohemia. But the crown of *Bohemia* was, like that of Hungary, in theory elective, and the House of Hapsburg was stanchly Catholic, whilst the nobles in Bohemia were mainly Protestant. Consequently the nobles of Bohemia took advantage, in 1619, of the death of the Emperor to make a change of dynasty, and offered the crown to a Protestant, Frederick, the Elector Palatine, who was, as stated above, James's son-in-law. Frederick asked James's advice as to whether he should accept it, but James was slow in making up his mind,[2] and Frederick accepted the throne before James had come to any decision.

The Bohemian election, 1619.

"That prince," said the Pope, referring to Frederick, "has cast himself into a fine labyrinth." The Pope was right. The Catholic powers in Germany at once combined to support the claims to Bohemia of Ferdinand, the new Emperor and head of the Austrian dominions. Frederick, on the other hand, was not cordially supported by the Protestant princes in Germany. His forces were consequently defeated, in little more than an hour, at the battle of the *White Hill*, just outside *Prague*; and he was expelled from Bohemia (1620). But that was not all. The Duke of Bavaria invaded and occupied that part of Frederick's dominions known as the Upper Palatinate, which bordered his own territory (1621). The King of Spain, both as an ardent Catholic and a cousin of Ferdinand's, also intervened, and proceeded to send an army from the Netherlands to occupy the Lower Palatinate, which lay on the Rhine (1622). The result of the opening stage of the war was, therefore, that the Elector Palatine lost not only his new kingdom, but his hereditary possessions as well.

Beginning of Thirty Years War, 1619–22.

We must now see what part Great Britain played in these

[1] A Hapsburg was always elected emperor from 1438 until the close of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806, except for a brief period in the eighteenth century, when the Austrian dominions were ruled by a woman.

[2] The matter, of course, was urgent, but all the answer Frederick's agent could extract from James was, "I will consider of it."

proceedings. Public opinion in England had been enthusiastic in support of Frederick, the Protestant husband of an English princess.[1] It wanted to force a Protestant policy upon the Government, and clamoured for an immediate war with Spain. In this public opinion was right. The Spanish king would probably not have occupied the Palatinate at all if he had felt convinced that it would have led to hostilities with England. But he was well served by Gondomar, his ambassador in London, who was much more aware of James's timidity and indecision than James was himself, and knew exactly how, by a mixture of firmness and flattery, to manage him. And therefore, though English volunteers went out to fight on the Continent, and the House of Commons enthusiastically passed motions in Frederick's favour,[2] nothing else happened. James, indeed, wished to be the peacemaker of Europe, and sent numberless embassies to the Continent; but he never realized that diplomacy, unbacked by armed force, was useless, and that the differences between Protestants and Catholics in Germany were, at that time, too deep to be settled merely by a little judicious management.

England's policy.

Having failed to prevent the Spanish occupation of the Palatinate, James thought he could get the Spaniards to surrender it if he arranged a marriage between Charles and the Spanish Infanta, and he accordingly reopened the negotiations which he had begun in 1617. Finally Charles—fancying himself in love with the Infanta, whom, by the way, he had never seen—and Buckingham, James's favourite, persuaded James to let them go to Madrid and woo the Infanta (1623). As Tom and John Smith, they crossed the Continent, and arrived at Madrid at eight o'clock one night. But the Spanish statesmen in return for the marriage, instead of being prepared to give up the Palatinate, tried to extract from Charles conces-

The Spanish marriage and the journey to Madrid, 1623.

[1] The enthusiasm even extended to the lawyers, and thirty gentlemen of the Middle Temple swore on their drawn swords, after the fatal battle outside Prague, to live or die in the service of Queen Elizabeth; and Charles, who was devoted to his sister, was so much upset by the news of this battle, that for two days he shut himself up in his room and would speak to no one.

[2] The members waved their hats "as high as they could hold them" when one motion was put to the vote.

sions for the Roman Catholics in England.[1] Charles made all sorts of promises—which no one knew better than himself that he could not have kept; and finally came back in disgust, to be received with acclamations and bonfires,[2] not so much because he had returned as because he had returned without the Infanta.

The expedition to the Palatinate, 1624.

Buckingham and Charles were now all for war to recover the Palatinate. James yielded and Parliament voted the money, and an army was collected (1624). But the army was, to quote a contemporary, "a rabble of raw and poor rascals", and never reached its destination, being diverted to another siege in 1625. In the same year James died, with the Palatinate still unrecovered.

When Charles came to the throne, the Protestants were fighting for their existence in Germany, but a new champion had arisen on behalf of the Protestant cause in the person of the *King of Denmark*. Charles agreed to pay him £360,000 a year for the conduct of a war in Germany. He paid one instalment of £46,000—and that was all. For one thing, Charles had obtained, largely through his own fault, insufficient supplies of money from Parliament. For another, soon after Charles made the engagement to the Danish king, he and Buckingham, who largely controlled the king's policy, came to the conclusion that the Protestantism of Germany might best be succoured and the Palatinate recovered by an attack upon the Spanish ports. It was, doubtless, a roundabout plan to attack the King of Spain in order to put pressure on the Emperor to restore Frederick, but a naval war with Spain was sure to be popular, and it was easier than campaigning in Germany. Accordingly an expedition was organized to *Cadiz*, which was to repeat Drake's exploit, sack the town and capture the treasure fleet coming from America. But the expedition came to hopeless grief and took neither Cadiz nor the treasure fleet (1625).[3] The next year the King of Denmark, with soldiers

Charles I and the war, 1625-6.

[1] Charles was only allowed one interview of a purely formal nature with the Infanta; he tried to effect another of a more informal character by leaping into a garden where she was walking, but the Infanta, who did not care for Charles, rushed away shrieking.

[2] There were a hundred and eight alone between St. Paul's and London Bridge.

[3] The expedition had started in the stormy month of October, with pressed crews and soldiers, with ships whose hulls were rotten and whose sails—at all events in the case of

clamouring for pay in consequence of the failure of the English subsidies, was obliged to take the offensive, was decisively defeated, and accordingly returned to his own country (1626). Charles's initial interference in the Thirty Years War had, therefore, been disastrous.

Meantime Charles had got into difficulties with France. At the end of his father's reign he was engaged to marry a French princess, *Henrietta Maria*, and on his accession he married her. By the terms of the marriage treaty concessions were promised to the Roman Catholics in England, and James also, just before his death, had undertaken to lend ships to the French king. The French king and his famous minister, Richelieu, wanted to use the ships to aid them in a war against the Protestants in France, the Huguenots as they were called. Charles, after futile endeavours and discreditable subterfuges to evade his father's promises,[1] was obliged to lend them—to the great wrath of his subjects in England.

Difficulties with France, 1625-6.

Later on the King of France demanded that the promised concessions to the Catholics in England should be granted, and in 1627 the two countries gradually drifted into war. Buckingham was himself sent with an expedition to capture a fort in the *Isle of Rhé*, in order to assist *La Rochelle*, the Huguenot stronghold on the west coast of France which the French king was still besieging. At that time there was no standing army, and a force largely composed of the riffraff of the country was not likely to be successful.[2] Buckingham, however, did well, and inspired his men with courage, if not with enthusiasm; and, but for the fact that, through no fault of his own, the French managed to revictual the fort, and that, through contrary winds, reinforcements failed to leave England, he might have succeeded. As it was, Buckingham

The Rhé expedition, 1627, and Buckingham's assassination, 1628.

one ship—dated from the Armada; and the food was exceedingly bad, "such as no dog in Paris garden would eat", said a contemporary. On reaching Cadiz, the men got drunk, and the ships finally returned home with scarcely enough men to work them.

[1] Amongst other things, a mutiny was arranged so that the ships might not be given up.

[2] When an army had to be raised, each county had to contribute a certain number of men. The lord-lieutenants, as in this case, took advantage of the occasion to get rid of those who, it was desirable, "should leave their county for their county's good". Buckingham's troops were ignorant alike of marksmanship and discipline, and after being drilled for a fortnight at the seaside, were dispatched on the expedition.

came back discredited in the eyes of the country. Before he could fit out another expedition, the tenpenny knife of a disappointed officer called Felton, who thought, as many others thought, that the assassination of Buckingham was a meritorious act, closed his career (1628).

With Buckingham's death, "there was an abrupt transition", it has been said, "from a policy of adventurous activity to one of utter inaction". Charles would make proposals, at one and the same time, to France for an alliance against Spain, and to Spain for an alliance against France. He would offer to help *Gustavus Adolphus*, the King of Sweden, the new champion of Protestantism in Germany, and not the King of Denmark, and then to help the King of Denmark and not Gustavus. One ambassador said to Charles, "The truth is you pull down with one hand as fast as you build up with the other": and the criticism was a just one. Moreover, circumstances were against the prosecution of an active policy. At first, Charles had no money to back his schemes; and later he had his hands full with his quarrel with his own subjects. As a result, the influence of Great Britain in foreign affairs became a negligible quantity for the remainder of Charles's reign.

Charles's inaction, 1629-49.

The Thirty Years War, therefore, ceased to be influenced by or to influence Great Britain; and we can only briefly allude to its later developments. *Gustavus Adolphus* had a brief spell of brilliant success and was then killed at the famous battle of *Lützen*[1] (1632). The Protestant cause appeared hopeless. But Richelieu, though he suppressed Protestants in France, was willing to support them in Germany by force of arms so as to weaken the house of Hapsburg. During the later stages of the war, the French armies exerted a decisive influence and were brilliantly successful. The war came finally to an end in 1648, France and Sweden acquiring large parts of what had been German territory whilst the German states were left more disunited and independent than before the war broke out. Upon Germany and the German nation the effects of the war, material and moral, were appalling—indeed, in

Later stages of the Thirty Years War.

[1] At the crisis of the battle, a thick November mist obscured the sun, and Gustavus, losing his way, was killed by the enemy.

the opinion of Bismarck, the great Prussian statesman, Germany was still suffering from these effects in 1880.

It must be confessed that England's foreign policy during the first half of the seventeenth century was both inglorious and ineffective. Many explanations may be offered. There was no standing army, and consequently no force behind English diplomacy; and if England went to war, her hastily trained levies had little chance against more experienced soldiers. Parliament again, though keen for war, did not, as a matter of fact, provide either James or Charles with sufficient money to wage it effectively—though in the case of Charles it was, as we shall see, largely his own fault for not explaining what he intended to do. Moreover, ill fortune attended the English efforts. But the chief cause of the futility of English policy lay in the characters of James and Charles; the indecisive and timid policy of the one and the tortuous and contradictory policy of the other could only result in failure. Nor must we forget that England's failure enabled France, by becoming the ally of the German Protestants, to establish a predominance which was before the end of the century to threaten the independence of nearly every other country in Europe.

Failure of English policy—its causes.

XXVI. King James I and Domestic Affairs

1. Plots against the King

We must turn now to the internal history of England under the first two Stuarts. Despite the fact that before Elizabeth's death there were other possible successors, James was fortunate in that his accession to the throne met with almost universal approval. There were, however, three unsuccessful plots against him. The first was rather an absurd plot, known as the *Bye Plot*, the object of which was to kidnap the king at Greenwich and to capture the Tower of London; it was designed by one Roman Catholic and

James I; the Bye and Main Plots, 1603.

betrayed to the Government by another. The evidence given by one of the conspirators led the Government to suspect the existence of the second plot, known as the *Main Plot*, the alleged object of which was to put, with Spanish aid, the Lady Arabella Stuart on the throne.[1] The details are, however, obscure and uncertain, and it is very doubtful whether there was ever such a plot at all (1603).

The chief interest of the Main Plot lies in the fact that *Sir Walter Ralegh*,[2] the soldier and seaman, the prose writer and poet, the explorer and courtier of Elizabeth's day, was accused of being implicated in it. Ralegh, after a most unfair trial, was condemned to death for treason. But he was reprieved, and imprisoned in the Tower. He employed his time in writing a *History of the World* and in making chemical experiments.[3] Thirteen years later, in 1616, he obtained his freedom in order to find a gold mine on the Orinoco River, of which he had heard on one of his journeys. But his expedition was disastrous. He had a bad crew, he lost his best officers by disease, and he was unable, owing to sickness, to go up the river himself. Worst luck of all, since his last journey a Spanish town on the river had been moved from a position above the mine to one below it. Consequently Ralegh's men had to pass the town on their way to the mine. The Spaniards attacked them, or they attacked the Spaniards—one or other was inevitable—and Spanish blood was shed. On Ralegh's return the Spanish ambassador clamoured for his punishment. James I was at that time engaged in the marriage negotiations of Charles and the Infanta. He yielded, therefore, and executed Ralegh on the old charge of treason, and in so doing was guilty of an act for which posterity has never forgiven him (1618).[4]

Sir Walter Ralegh.

[1] The Lady Arabella was, like James, descended from Margaret, the elder daughter of Henry VII; but, unlike James, she had been born in England, a fact which, in the eyes of some lawyers, gave her a better title to the throne.

[2] Ralegh's name has been spelt in seventy different ways. He himself signed his name variously in the course of his life, but he never signed it in the way it is often spelt now, i.e. Raleigh.

[3] Amongst other things he compounded drugs, and his "great cordial or elixir" had a wonderful reputation.

[4] Ralegh was warned, it is only fair to James to say, that any hostilities against the Spaniards would cost him his life; and in his over eagerness to get free from the Tower, Ralegh asserted that the mine was neither in nor near the King of Spain's territories, a statement which he must have known to be untrue.

The third plot was the famous *Gunpowder Plot.* The Roman Catholics had hoped much from a son of Mary Queen of Scots; and James, on his accession, was inclined to be tolerant, and excused the Roman Catholics from the fines which they paid for not going to their parish churches.[1] The immediate result of this concession was an invasion of Roman Catholic priests from abroad—no less than a hundred and forty in six months—and such signs of activity that James felt obliged to reimpose the fines and to banish the priests. It was this which prompted the Gunpowder Plot (1605). Its leader, Robert Catesby, was something of a hero — of great strength, fascinating manners, and a real leader of men, with magnetic influence over others—but very wrongheaded, driven to desperation, almost to madness, by the persecution which the Roman Catholics had endured. Amongst the other conspirators was Guy Fawkes, who came of an old Yorkshire family, and had seen much warfare in the Netherlands. The plan of the plot was to blow up the House of Lords when the king and the members of both Houses of Parliament were assembled in it at the opening of the session; to capture James's son, Charles, and proclaim him king; and then to inform other Roman Catholics of the success of the plot at a hunting match which was to be arranged in the Midlands, and with their aid to organize a Roman Catholic Government.

The Gunpowder Plot, 1605.

The plotters first tried to dig a mine from an adjacent house through the foundations of the House of Lords; then they hired a cellar, or rather a room on the ground floor, underneath the House of Lords, and put in it two tons of gunpowder in barrels. Finally, however, one of the conspirators, appalled at the enormity of the crime, sent a letter of warning to a cousin of his who was a member of the House of Lords, and who gave the letter to the Government. Consequently, the night before Parliament met, the barrels were discovered, and Guy Fawkes with them; and subsequently he and the other conspirators were either killed in fighting or executed. The result of the plot was that laws of extreme severity were passed against the Roman

[1] They were extremely heavy—£20 a month, or else the confiscation of two-thirds of their property.

Catholics—laws, for instance, which excluded them from all professions, which forbade them to appear at Court or within ten miles of London unless employed in business there, and which made the fines against them even more severe. Parliament was always clamouring for these laws to be put into execution, though James occasionally, and Charles very often, failed to enforce them.[1]

2. The King's Ministers

Lord Salisbury's ministry, 1603–12.

We must now say a word as to James's advisers during his reign. The king, on his accession, retained in office, as chief minister, Robert Cecil, the son of Elizabeth's great minister, Lord Burleigh, and created him *Earl of Salisbury*.[2] "He was fit to prevent things going worse, not fit to make them better", was the judgment upon him of Bacon, his cousin. The remark was uncousinly and somewhat unjust. A man of vast industry and sound sense, a capable financier, a clever manager of the king's business in Parliament, Salisbury, up till his death in 1612, did good work at home and had a large share in directing England's foreign policy.

James and his favourites—Carr and Buckingham, 1612–25.

After 1612 James employed favourites to carry on his Government. This was not only because he enjoyed the society of a lively companion during his leisure, but because he desired to have a person who was wholly dependent upon himself, and who could be imbued with his ideas and could then carry them out; in fact, he thought that, through favourites, he might be an absolute ruler with little trouble to himself. His first choice was singularly unfortunate—a Scotsman named *Carr*, whom he created Lord Rochester, and afterwards Earl of Somerset. Lady Essex divorced her first husband in order to marry Carr, and she and her new husband were subsequently found responsible for the murder of a distinguished man, who happened to be her personal enemy.[3]

[1] An attempt has recently been made to show that there was really no Gunpowder Plot, and that the whole affair was contrived by Lord Salisbury, James I's minister, in order to discredit the Roman Catholics; but this is very unlikely.

[2] James used to call him familiarly his "pigmy" or his "little beagle", owing to his shortness of stature.

[3] His name was Overbury. He was something of a poet, and a great friend of Carr's. He had tried to prevent Carr marrying Lady Essex, and Lady Essex, in revenge, contrived to season with white arsenic the confectionery Overbury ate.

James consequently dismissed Carr from all his offices (1616), and kept him a prisoner in the Tower for the next six years.

The king's next choice was better. *George Villiers*, who eventually became *Duke of Buckingham*, had an attractive personality, with agreeable manners and a merry laugh.[1] He was the friend of some good people, such as Abbot and Laud, both Archbishops of Canterbury; of Bacon, who hoped through Villiers to carry out his political ideals; and even of the man who was eventually to impeach him, Sir John Eliot. Moreover, he proved himself a very fair soldier and an energetic Lord High Admiral. But his character was spoilt by his rapid rise. He was too impulsive and volatile to be a statesman; and "if it is only just", as has been said, "to class him among ministers rather than among favourites, he must rank amongst the most incapable ministers of this or any other century". At first, however, Villiers was only concerned with matters of patronage; not till towards the end of James's reign did he have much influence upon the king's policy.

Of all the people living at that time, *Francis Bacon*, the historian, essayist, and philosopher, possessed the greatest ability and the widest views. He was a strong supporter of the monarchy; but he loved it, it was said, because he expected great things from it. He saw the necessity for harmony between king and Parliament; the function of the Parliament was to keep the king informed of the wishes of his people, and of the king, through Parliament, to keep the nation informed of his policy. Bacon, however, never had a chance of showing how this might be done. His cousin, Lord Salisbury, at first kept him out of power from personal jealousy or dislike; and though after Salisbury's death he obtained office, and was Lord Chancellor from 1618–21, he never exerted any very large influence.

Francis Bacon.

[1] James used to call him "Steenie", from a fancied resemblance to a picture of St. Stephen.

3. The King and Protestant parties

We turn from the king's ministers to trace the king's policy. It was on questions of Religion that people in those days felt most acutely, and these were amongst the first to occupy James's attention on his accession. We have already noticed the upshot of his attempt to tolerate the Roman Catholics, and we must now see how he dealt with the Protestants. It may be convenient at this stage to say something of Protestant parties in seventeenth-century England. *First*, there was the *Anglican*, or, as it came to be called at the time, the *Arminian*[1] party, the strong party in the Church of England, of which Archbishop Laud was later to be the leader. In politics the members of this party were believers in the "divine right" of kings. In matters of Church government they were strong upholders of the power of the bishops; and they believed that the bishops, by succession from the Apostles, and the priests, through ordination by the bishops, had been given special powers. With them the Communion service was in a special sense a means of grace. Laud, by his extreme intolerance brought, in later years, much odium upon the Anglican party; and its members, partly because of their liking for vestments and a rather elaborate ritual, and partly because of the doctrines held by some of the more extreme amongst them, were suspected by their enemies of being in sympathy, if not in alliance, with the Church of Rome. But the Anglican party included among its members in the seventeenth century some singularly attractive characters, such as George Herbert, the poet, and Lancelot Andrewes, the Bishop of Winchester, and one of those chiefly responsible for the Authorized Version of the Bible; it had interests in the historic side of the English Church and in preserving its continuity from the Early Church; and it did much to improve the order and beauty of the church services throughout England.

Religion: The Anglican party.

And then, *secondly*, there were the various bodies of people we may group together under the name of *Puritan*.[2] In deal-

[1] After the name of Dr. Arminius, a Dutch divine, who died in 1609.

[2] These people would, however, have repudiated the name in the earlier part of the seventeenth century; indeed it was regarded as a nickname and term of reproach.

ing with the Puritans three things must be borne in mind. In the first place, many of the popular views held with regard to the Puritans are erroneous, being due to the caricatures drawn of the Puritans after the Restoration of 1660. The Puritans. The Puritans, for instance, were not all drawn from the inferior social class; on the contrary, many of the best type of English gentlemen of that day held Puritan opinions. They were not averse to all pleasure and amusement. They did not wear their hair short, and did not speak through their noses. Secondly, we must remember that the great majority of Puritans still belonged to the Church of England; the great and final division between Churchman and Nonconformist did not come till the reign of Charles II. Thirdly, the term Puritan includes a large variety of opinions—just after the Civil War it was estimated that there were a hundred and seventy different sects, nearly all belonging to what we now call the Puritan party. Some Puritans were disposed to acquiesce, for instance, in the rule of bishops, if moderately exercised, whilst others detested and made the most violent attacks upon them. Then, especially during and after the Civil War, the Presbyterians became a great force, and wished to impose their system of government by elders and their doctrines on everyone else. The Independents, however, believed in the right of every man to think for himself, and in what they called "liberty for tender consciences", so long as those consciences were not those of Roman Catholics. And, finally, there were—as there are in every movement—various groups of extremists, who, we shall find, were a dangerous element at the time of the Commonwealth.

All classes of Puritans, however, were united on certain matters. They were all agreed, for instance, in their detestation of Roman Catholicism. It is difficult for us now to realize the intensity of the feeling of large numbers of Englishmen against the Roman Catholics, or to justify the severity of the laws against them. But we must remember that the persecutions of Queen Mary's reign were still fresh in men's minds,[1] that the Roman Catholics had been concerned in various plots against Elizabeth,

[1] Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* (first published in 1563) was regarded as a sort of second Bible at this time, and was chained to the desk in a great many Parish churches; its vivid accounts helped to keep alive the memory of the Marian persecutions.

and that the Armada was looked upon as a Popish Armada. Moreover, the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 was regarded—quite wrongly—as a plot in which the Pope and the English Roman Catholics as a body were implicated. Then, again, the Roman Catholics were not aiming merely at toleration for themselves; they were a large and increasing body, and they wanted England to become a Roman Catholic country. Lastly, it must be borne in mind that the Puritans looked upon the Pope as Antichrist, upon the ceremonies of the church which he ruled as idolatrous, upon the doctrines—to quote the House of Commons—of Popery as "devilish", and upon its priests as "the corrupters of the people in religion and loyalty". They would, indeed, have regarded a return to Roman Catholicism as a moral and religious catastrophe for the nation.

Apart from their hatred of the Papacy, the various sections among the Puritans had other views in common. They all opposed the claims of bishops and priests to special powers, and they disliked ornaments and vestments and an elaborate ritual in church. They were all more or less followers of Calvin; that is to say, they believed in predestination, i.e. that some are foreordained to salvation and others are not; and they looked upon the Communion as a commemorative feast in memory of our Lord's death, and not as a special means of grace. Above all, they made the Bible their rule of faith and of conduct; they had an intense feeling of responsibility towards God for all that they did, and all the power which came from the conviction that He was on their side in their struggle against what they thought was wrong.

Dislike of toleration.

There is, perhaps, one more point to bear in mind in dealing with religious parties in England, and for that matter in Scotland as well. No religious party, whether Roman Catholic, or Arminian, or Presbyterian, desired merely toleration for itself; they all, except perhaps the Independents, desired to persecute those who disagreed with them. Toleration, "that hellish toleration", as a Scottish divine once called it, would satisfy few; each party wanted every other religious party exactly to conform with its own views and practices, or else to be suppressed.

It was inevitable that some of the religious opinions held by the Puritans should clash with those held by the Monarchy. Even in Elizabeth's day there was, at times, no little friction. In the early years of her reign had occurred what is known as the *Vestiarian Controversy*—clergymen with Puritan leanings objecting to wearing the surplice and to certain of the ceremonies enjoined in the Prayer Book. Then, later on, the more advanced Puritans, chiefly at Oxford and Cambridge, had advocated a Presbyterian form of government and had attacked the bishops, with the result that a dozen of them had been sent to jail. Others, again, had organized meetings, called *Prophesyings*, at which various religious subjects were discussed, and clergymen learnt how to preach sermons. But Elizabeth thought that theological discussion would provoke too much independence of thought; and she much preferred a clergyman to read to his congregation an extract from "the Book of Homilies" (which had been issued at the same time as the Prayer Book) rather than to preach to his congregation a sermon of his own composition—indeed, she thought one or two preachers quite a sufficient allowance for each county. She, therefore, disliked these clerical gatherings and sternly repressed them. And when the House of Commons, in which there was a strong Puritan element, ventured to discuss problems of ecclesiastical government or doctrine, the queen mercilessly snubbed them.

Elizabeth and the Puritans.

Finally, in 1583, *Whitgift* became Archbishop of Canterbury. He was a stern disciplinarian, and had the queen's complete confidence.[1] The Press was muzzled, no manuscript being allowed to be set up in type without the licence of the Archbishop or the Bishop of London. This regulation did not prevent, however, some gross libels on the bishops, known as the "Mar-Prelate Tracts", from being secretly printed, the authors of which were never discovered; but some other libellers were caught and were put to death. To the Court of High Commission was delegated by the queen the punishment of ecclesiastical offences, and, armed with tremendous powers, it persecuted the more advanced exponents of the Puritan

[1] The queen used to call him "her little black husband", and treated him as her confessor to whom she revealed "the very secrets of her soul".

doctrines. *The Brownists* (so called because of their leader Robert Browne), who held opinions then considered very extreme and had seceded from the Church, were especially attacked, and a large number took refuge in Holland, whence many returned to make the famous voyage in *The Mayflower* to America in 1620.

The Puritans, however, on James's accession were inclined to be well-disposed to him, for they expected much from him. James had been brought up in Presbyterian Scotland, and the Puritans believed that his attitude towards them would be sympathetic. They consequently lost no time in presenting him with a Millenary Petition —so called because it was supposed to be signed by a thousand ministers[1]—asking for certain reforms. A conference, which included the two archbishops and six bishops on the one side and four Puritans on the other, was held at *Hampton Court* to consider the situation (1604).

The Hampton Court Conference, 1604.

The king himself presided and behaved at first with admirable impartiality. Then, at the end of the second day, a Puritan mentioned the word "Presbytery". Now James, though the Puritans did not know it, hated the Presbyterian form of religion, with its outspokenness and its democratic government, as he had experienced it in Scotland. "A Scottish Presbytery," he said, "agreeth as well with a monarchy as God with the devil. Then Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasure censure me and my council."[2] The Conference soon broke up, and its only result—though it was a very important result—was the preparation of the Authorized Version of the Bible (which appeared in 1611); the Puritans otherwise went away disappointed and empty-handed. James himself became a strong supporter of the extreme Anglican position, and a strong believer in the maxim "No bishop, no king"; if once the authority of the bishops was overthrown, that of the monarchy itself, he felt, would be threatened.

[1] As a matter of fact it was not signed at all, though it had received the support of eight hundred ministers.

[2] "Stay, I pray you," James went on, "for one seven years, and if then you find me pursy and fat, and my windpipes stuffed, I will perhaps hearken unto you; for let that government be once up, I am sure I shall be kept in breath."

4. The King and Parliament

The Puritans, if they found no favour with the Monarchy, found plenty of support in the House of Commons. In every Parliament of James I and Charles I, and to an increasing extent as the years went on, there was a strong Puritan element in the Lower House, and eventually that element became supreme. It is this fact that largely accounts for the differences between the first two Stuart kings and their Parliaments. The Lower House was fanatically anti-Catholic; the two kings were inclined to be tolerant to the Catholics, James because he was naturally of a tolerant disposition and Charles because he had married a Roman Catholic wife. The Crown supported the Anglican or Arminian position in the English Church; the majority in the House of Commons was strongly opposed to the Arminian doctrines and regarded with considerable suspicion all the king's High Church appointments.

Puritanism and Parliament.

There were, however, many other causes besides religious differences for the struggle round which centres the chief interest of the seventeenth century, the struggle between King and Parliament. Of these we must say something before tracing the history of the struggle in detail. One cause of the struggle undoubtedly was the absence of external danger, already referred to in the last chapter. It is often said that an Englishman can only think of one thing at a time. For a great part of Elizabeth's reign his mind was taken up with dangers from abroad. When Elizabeth's life alone stood between her subjects and anarchy or a foreign domination, it was no time to discuss rights and privileges. But by 1603 these dangers were over. The defeat of the Armada in 1588 meant the destruction not only of Philip's ambitions, but also of the Tudor dictatorship—for it was no longer required. Englishmen might, therefore, safely devote themselves to criticizing and reforming their own government.

Causes of struggle between King and Parliament.

Another cause of the struggle was the development, during the sixteenth century, of the national character. That century, it has been said, saw the birth of the modern Englishman. He had realized his possibilities in enterprise, in seamanship, in

literature; the Reformation and the Renaissance had taught him to think and to reason for himself; he had become more self-reliant, more self-confident, perhaps more self-willed. He was, in a word, ready for a greater share in the government of his country. And more especially had come the development of the middle classes. The battle of English liberty in the seventeenth century was fought, not so much by the nobles or by the people, as by the squire, the merchant, and the lawyer; these were the classes which had developed in Tudor times, and it was from these classes that the members of the House of Commons were drawn. Very often they were ignorant, especially about foreign affairs; sometimes they did not realize the difficulties of the Government and brought absurd charges against the ministers. But they were men, for the most part, uncorrupted and incorruptible; independent and yet moderate; patient though very persistent. In the earlier stages of the struggle the lawyers chiefly fought the war of words in the House of Commons; they were, as Bacon said, the "vowels" of the House, the remaining members merely the "consonants". But when it came to the war of swords, it was the country gentlemen who made the best use of them.

Questions at issue.

England, then, was not distracted by foreign dangers; and she had developed a class of citizens who could think and act for themselves. Even during Elizabeth's reign the relations between the queen and her Parliaments were not always perfectly harmonious. It is true that only eleven Parliaments were called, and that hardly any outlived a single session of some six weeks' duration; and that Elizabeth, as she frankly stated on one occasion, called them "not to make new laws[1] or lose good hours in idle speeches", but to provide supplies for the expenses of her government. Nevertheless, on occasions the House of Commons had exhibited an independent and almost pugnacious temper, which indicated that the nation would not continue to look on quietly while the Crown and its ministers governed, and that it was time for a reconsideration of their respective rights and duties. With James I that reconsideration came, and it was significant that at the

[1] The queen was no believer in new laws, and in one year she vetoed no less than forty-eight out of the ninety-one bills which had been passed by both Houses of Parliament.

opening of his first Parliament there was a record attendance. The time had come, as the House of Commons declared in the very first year of James's reign, to "redress, restore, and rectify" those actions which in the reign of Elizabeth they had "passed over". Questions of government, plain and broad questions, pressed for an answer.

There were questions of theory which went to the foundation of all authority. By what title did the King hold his throne? By hereditary divine right, as the King and the bishops and many others believed, or by virtue of an Act of Parliament? If the King ruled by divine right, criticism either of his words or of his actions was obviously wrong; a subject must yield passive obedience to a divinely appointed ruler. Or again, what is meant by the King's *Prerogative*? The King's party held that it was a sort of reserve power residing in the King to do ultimately what he liked; to override, if he thought reasons of State demanded it, all the ordinary laws of the land. The Parliament party held, on the other hand, that law was the ground of all authority, and that the King possessed his powers by law, and must at all times be regulated by law. Where, again, did sovereignty reside? Did it rest with the King alone, or with the King and Parliament combined?

It is obvious that all the practical questions that arose, such as those concerning the power of the King to raise money without the consent of Parliament, and to imprison people without trial, or the power of the Parliament to call ministers to account for their actions, depended upon an answer to these questions. Nor were the answers at all clear. The powers of the monarchy were ill-defined, and the English Constitution was neither then nor at any other time of a rigid type. The King's party had just as decided opinions as the Parliamentary party; and both could bring strong arguments in support of their respective views. And as time went on, the differences between these views became irreconcilable; till at last the sword—and the sword alone—could settle them.

"I found Parliaments when I came here," said James once, "so I had to put up with them." One can sympathize with the king, for it is obvious that the Stuarts succeeded to an exceed-

ingly difficult situation in regard to their Parliaments. But James, instead of relieving the situation, merely aggravated it. A wise man once said that the rights of kings and peoples never agree so well together as in silence. James, however, was both loquacious and pedantic. He was always wanting to define matters of government which had much better be left undefined, and to theorise concerning powers which he might have exercised, in practice, without notice, but which, uncompromisingly enunciated, were bound to provoke opposition.

James and Godwin's case, 1604.

We have no space to enter into the details of James's relations with his Parliaments, but we may take, as an example of his tactlessness, an incident which occurred at the opening of his *first* Parliament (1604). The King's court had disallowed the election to the House of Commons of a man called Godwin, on the ground that he was an outlaw, and that James in a proclamation had said that no outlaws were to be elected. The House of Commons declared that it was their privilege to settle disputed elections. James answered that their privileges were his grant and ought not to be quoted against him, and a controversy at once ensued as to the origin of parliamentary privileges and the king's power to abrogate them. In the end James allowed the House of Commons to settle the matter of the election; but it was not an auspicious beginning.[1]

Bate's case, 1606.

In the first Parliament of James I, also, an extremely important question of taxation was brought up. The ordinary revenue of the king was derived partly from independent sources, such as crown lands and feudal dues, bringing in about £250,000 a year; and partly from a duty on all imports called tunnage and poundage,[2] a duty which was granted to the king on his accession for the term of his life, and which brought in about £150,000 a year. Two or three years after his accession, James began to impose, on certain articles, extra duties over and above what he was allowed to impose by

[1] "The state of monarchy", James said to his Parliament in 1611, "is the supremest thing upon earth; for kings are not only God's lieutenants upon earth and sit upon God's throne, but even by God Himself they are called Gods; as to dispute what God may do is blasphemy, so it is sedition in subjects to dispute what a king may do in the height of his power." This is another example of the king's loquacious tactlessness.

[2] So called because a certain sum was paid on every tun of wine and pound of merchandise imported.

tunnage and poundage. A merchant called *Bate* refused to pay the extra duty on currants—one of these articles—but the judges decided that he must pay on the ground that the ports belonged to the king, and that therefore the king might impose what duties he liked on goods coming into England (1606). The result of this decision was that the Government imposed extra duties upon a whole mass of other articles as well. Consequently the king's revenue was largely augmented. These extra duties, known as "impositions", were, of course, strenuously opposed by this and every succeeding Parliament, and were a constant source of contention.

The king dissolved his first Parliament in 1611, and for the next ten years there was no Parliament except in 1614, when one sat for two months; it is known in history as the "Addled Parliament" because no laws resulted from it. But in *1621* the loss of the Palatinate by Frederick, and the possibility that England might be engaged in a war for its recovery, led James to call his *third Parliament.* This Parliament was very important. In the first place the House of Commons revived its right of impeachment, its right to prosecute the king's ministers or office holders before the House of Lords. This was a weapon of tremendous power which had not been used since 1449; and it was a weapon which later on was to be used with great frequency. The House of Commons began by impeaching some holders of monopolies. It went on to accuse the Lord Chancellor, Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, of receiving bribes. Suitors in those days often used to give presents to judges. But there is no doubt also that Bacon had in some cases, probably through carelessness, received presents before he had given his decision, and that these presents were given with a corrupt intention; there is no proof, however, that Bacon received them as bribes or that they in any way influenced his decision.[1] We may agree with Bacon's own judg-

The Parliament of 1621; revival of impeachment.

[1] In one case, a lady, who had a series of suits being heard before Bacon, drove down to York House, Bacon's residence, with £100 in her purse. "What is that," said Bacon on her entrance, "that you have in your hand?" "A purse of my own making," was the lady's reply, "which I hope your lordship will accept." "What lord," replied Bacon, "could refuse a purse of so fair a lady's working?" But, as a matter of fact, though Bacon took the purse and the £100, his final decision was not at all in favour of this lady litigant.

ment: "I was the justest judge that was in England these fifty years. But it was the justest censure in Parliament that was these two hundred years." Bacon was deprived of his chancellorship and died shortly afterwards.

In the second place, this House of Commons upheld its liberty of speech. The House of Commons was strongly, almost fanatically, anti-Catholic and anti-Spaniard, and it met at the time that James was proposing a marriage between Charles and a Spanish princess with a view to the restoration of the Palatinate. It accordingly drew up a petition to be presented to the king, in which it begged that Charles might marry one of "our own religion", and expressed with some bluntness its opinion of the Pope and his "dearest son" the King of Spain. Such a petition coming in the crisis of his negotiations with Spain was, from the king's point of view, exceedingly embarrassing; and James wrote an angry letter against the "fiery and popular spirits" in the House of Commons who had dared "to argue or debate publicly matters far above their reach and capacity", and forbade the House "henceforth to meddle with anything concerning our Government or deep matters of State". Fortunately for English liberty, the House of Commons maintained its courage; and in the candle light on a dark December day, it drew up a Protestation declaring its freedom of speech. The king thereupon dissolved the Parliament, imprisoned some of its members, and sending for the journal book of the House of Commons tore the Protestation out of it with his own hands (1622). But, nevertheless, the House of Commons had shown there was one place in the kingdom where an Englishman might say what he liked.

Liberty of speech.

In the *fourth* Parliament (1624) we pass into smooth waters, for Parliament had got the war with Spain which it desired. Moreover, Buckingham and Prince Charles supported the House of Commons in their impeachment of Middlesex, the Lord Treasurer. Shortly afterwards James died (1625).

This brief summary will have shown that the rift had begun between the Crown and Parliament in the reign of King James. The House of Commons had made a decided advance; it had revived impeachment, upheld its privileges, and protested against

impositions. James's character, it must be admitted, had been peculiarly fitted to open dangerous questions; in the reign of his successor they would have to be answered.

XXVII. Charles I and Domestic Affairs, 1625-42

It will be apparent from what has been already said that Charles succeeded to no easy inheritance. He had been left an incompetent and impetuous minister in Buckingham, and unfortunately that minister had more influence in Charles's reign than he had enjoyed even in the later years of King James. At home, there was an empty treasury and a Parliament which was beginning to feel its power; and abroad, things were going badly for the Protestants in the Thirty Years War. Moreover, Charles's wife was to be of no assistance to him. Soon after his accession he married *Henrietta Maria*, daughter of the French king, a vivacious and attractive person; but, unfortunately, as time went on, she interfered more and more in affairs of state, and had more and more influence over her husband. The queen was quite ignorant of English customs and the English character. She was a Roman Catholic in a strongly Protestant country, and was always striving to obtain concessions for those of her own religion. She actively intrigued, in times of difficulty at home, for assistance from abroad; and she held the most extreme political opinions with regard to the king's authority and the wickedness of those who opposed it.[1]

Charles I and Henrietta Maria.

1. Charles and his first three Parliaments, 1625–9

Charles called three Parliaments during the first four years of his reign, and quarrelled with each one of them. Then for

[1] "Of the many women, good and bad," it has been said, "who have tried to take part in affairs of state, from Cleopatra, or the Queen of Sheba downward, nobody by character or training was ever worse fitted than the wife of Charles I for such a case as that in which she found herself."

eleven years he governed without a Parliament. Finally, a war with Scotland and the consequent need of money forced him in 1640 to call two Parliaments, the second of which reduced his powers, and eventually civil war broke out in 1642. Such is briefly the history of Charles's relations with his Parliaments. The subjects of dispute were many. There was, as in James's reign, the religious difficulty. Charles was an Anglican High Churchman, and because of his wife was inclined to tolerate the Roman Catholics; Parliament was Puritan and anti-Catholic. Parliament distrusted the king's ministers, Buckingham in the first four years, and Strafford and Laud in 1640; the king, on the contrary, thought these ministers able and efficient, and any parliamentary criticisms of them factious and impertinent. Parliament, in the early years of Charles's reign, was angry at the failure of the English foreign policy; and in later years, because of the Court intrigues with foreign powers.

Causes of dispute between Charles and his Parliaments.

But underlying all these disputes lay the questions indicated in the last chapter: Where did sovereignty reside? Who had the responsibility for the government of the country? The Parliament wanted, rightly or wrongly, a greater control of the government; Charles, rightly or wrongly, was unwilling to concede it—there lay the whole difficulty. We regard it now as an easy task to bring the powers of Crown and Parliament into harmony. But this dual control was not easy to arrange, and perhaps was impossible to obtain without friction. As a matter of fact, a Civil War occurred in 1642 and a Revolution in 1688 before an arrangement could be made—and even then it proved not to be permanent.

Charles's *first Parliament* met in *1625*,[1] just after the king had arranged to pay very large subsidies to the King of Denmark and to send a fleet to attack Spain. Obviously large sums would be required. But Charles's reticence and want of frankness proved a fatal impediment. There were no Bluebooks or Whitebooks and no daily newspapers in those days, and it was difficult for members of Parliament to know

Charles's first Parliament, 1625.

[1] Even an outbreak of the plague in London did not prevent an attendance at the opening of Charles's first Parliament which beat the record established when James I came to the throne

what was going on. Though members knew, of course, that a great religious war was in progress in Germany, and were anxious that England should help the Protestants, they were yet unfamiliar with recent developments. But Charles would neither explain his policy, nor depute anyone else to do so. Consequently, as one member said, "They knew not their enemy", and the statement was literally true. Nor did Charles explain his needs; he made a definite demand for the navy, but only hinted at the largeness of the sums he really required. Consequently Charles only got one-seventh of the amount of money which he needed.

At the same time Parliament only granted tunnage and poundage to the king for one year, though for the last two centuries it had been granted the king for life. Here Parliament was wrong. The Monarchy could not get on without the money. It had to meet the ordinary expenses of government; moreover, the Court spent more money than in Elizabeth's day, whilst the great rise in prices, owing to the influx of silver from the New World, had made the king's revenue worth less than before. The only result of Parliament's action was that Charles continued to levy these customs right up till 1640 without any Parliamentary sanction at all, the judges supporting him. In this, as in the succeeding Parliaments, the Puritan majority had apprehensions about religion, for the king favoured Anglican High Churchmen such as Laud,[1] and also allowed the administration of the laws against the Roman Catholics to become somewhat lax.

Charles's *second Parliament* met in *1626*, after the loan of ships to the French king and the disaster to the Cadiz fleet had occurred. The House of Commons first demanded that an inquiry into the Cadiz disaster should precede any grant of supply, and wanted especially to investigate Buckingham's conduct. Charles held that he and not Parliament must be the judge of the capacity of his ministers: "I would not have the House to question my servants," he said, "much less one who is so near me." The House of Commons then went a step further, and under Eliot's leader-

The second Parliament, 1626; Buckingham's impeachment.

[1] Laud supplied the king with a list of clergy marked either O for Orthodox or P for Puritan, so that only those might receive promotion whom Laud considered Orthodox.

ship impeached Buckingham. *Sir John Eliot* was a Cornishman, a man of lofty nature, and a great orator, but apt—as those possessing the qualities of an orator often are—to exaggerate, and take either a better or a worse view of a man than he deserved. In 1625 he had expressed a hope to Buckingham that he might be "wholly devoted to the contemplation of his excellencies". But in the next year, when he saw, as he said, "our honour ruined, our ships sunk, our men perished, not by the sword, not by the enemy, not by chance, but by those we trust", his indignation knew no bounds. In a speech of wonderful power he applied to Buckingham the words in which Tacitus characterized Sejanus[1]: *Sui obtegens, in alios criminator; juxta aduiatio et superbia.* "If he is Sejanus, I must be Tiberius," was Charles's comment on this comparison, and he never forgave Eliot as a consequence. Buckingham's impeachment led Charles to dissolve the second Parliament.

The *third Parliament* met two years later, in *1628*. Charles was needlessly rude in his first speech. If the Parliament did not supply his wants, he must, he said, use all means which God had put into his hands. "Take not this as a threat," he added, "for I scorn to threaten any but my equals." This was an unpromising beginning; but Parliament had more important causes of dissatisfaction than the king's speech. The Rhé expedition had failed. Parliament was still nervous about religion. Moreover, the king had recently levied a forced loan. But this was not all. Five knights had refused to pay the forced loan, and had been imprisoned. When brought up in a court of law, the justification for their imprisonment had been given as "the special command of the king". The Crown lawyers argued before the judges that the king must have, for the safety of the State, the power to commit people to, and to keep them in, prison without trial. That is true enough; but the danger was, as it has been well said, that the king was making the medicine of the constitution its daily food. Moreover, the knights' lawyers held that such a power as the king claimed was plainly contrary to an Englishman's liberty and to

The third Parliament, 1628.

[1] Sejanus was governor of the praetorian troops, and for many years controlled the policy of the Emperor Tiberius.

Magna Carta. The judges before whom the case was tried had given no definite ruling in such a difficult matter, though they had refused to release the knights from prison.

The third Parliament lost no time in trying to check what was held to be an abuse of the king's power, and drew up the *Petition of Right*. The first article declared that loans and taxes without consent of Parliament were illegal, and the second that all arbitrary imprisonment without cause shown was illegal. The third article of this petition forbade the billeting of soldiers in private houses;[1] and the fourth, the exercise, in time of peace, of martial law, which too often had meant no law at all. The king, after trying every means of evasion, finally gave his consent to this petition; and, though he violated every one of its articles, the Petition stands as a great landmark in the struggle.

The Petition of Right, 1628.

It was after the Petition was passed that Wentworth, who had been one of the chief leaders of the House of Commons, joined the King. The second session of the third Parliament met in 1629. Parliament maintained that the king had not kept his promises with regard to the Petition of Right, and dissensions between King and Parliament grew more bitter. Charles determined to dissolve Parliament, but before he could do so occurred the celebrated scene when, with the Speaker held down in the chair and the doors locked, three resolutions were passed, declaring that whoever proposed innovations in religion, and whoever either proposed or paid taxes without the consent of Parliament, was an enemy to the kingdom and a betrayer of its liberties. These three resolutions—combining the grievances which the House of Commons felt in religion and in politics—were the last that the third Parliament (1629) was to pass, for it was at once dissolved; and Eliot, the most noble-minded of all in that struggle, was put into the Tower, and died there.[2]

The dissolution of Parliament, 1629.

[1] Soldiers, raised for an expedition abroad, were sometimes billeted in private houses, and were not infrequently an intolerable nuisance. Some people in Essex complained, for instance, that the Irish quartered there broke the furniture, and threw the meat into the fire if it did not win their approval.

[2] Eliot's son petitioned that the body might be buried at Port Eliot, the Cornish home of the family. But Charles was implacable. "Let Sir John Eliot", wrote the king on the petition, "be buried in the church of that parish where he died"; and accordingly he was buried in the Tower.

We have now come to the end of the first period of the conflict. On the whole, though Parliament was sometimes unduly suspicious, sometimes rather niggardly in its supplies, and always intolerant in matters of religion, it had shown itself more patient, more practical, more clear-headed than either the kings or their advisers, and it is difficult to resist the conclusion that it was in the right. But this must not blind us to the fact that Parliament was seeking to establish a control over the King and his advisers which had not been exercised in Tudor times, and it was not unnatural that the Crown should resist such attempts.

2. Arbitrary Government, 1629–40, and growing discontent in England and Scotland

The next eleven years saw no Parliament—the longest interval England has known in her history since Parliament began. They are usually called "*The Eleven Years' Tyranny*". We must, however, beware of regarding a year without a Parliament as anything exceptional; in Elizabeth's reign, for instance, Parliament on the average met only every third year. Nor must we regard Charles as a wicked despot, destroying the rights, the goods, and the lives of his people. The period, on the contrary, was one of prosperity for the nation at large; with the exception of Eliot, no political martyr lost his life; and the king, on the whole, kept within the letter of the law as it was interpreted for him by judges, who might, however, with reason be deemed somewhat accommodating.[1] Yet none the less they were dangerous and critical years for England; and when they were over, the people of England showed that they were determined that a repetition of such absolute rule should not occur.

Arbitrary government, 1629–40.

We must say something about the advisers of Charles during this period. No one succeeded to Buckingham's commanding position in Charles's councils. Yet amongst the king's advisers two figures stand out pre-eminent —*Thomas Wentworth*, eventually created *Earl of Strafford*, and *William Laud*. Wentworth, a member of an old

Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford.

[1] The Judges also would be likely to be on the side of the Crown, for lawyers go by the latest precedent, and would maintain that the Stuarts might well do as the Tudors had done.

family with large estates in Yorkshire, had supported the Crown when he first entered the House of Commons; but in the early Parliaments of Charles I he was one of the leading critics of the king's policy, and the Petition of Right in particular was largely due to his initiative. Then between the two sessions of the third Parliament he joined the king's side, and was made a peer (1628). For this change Wentworth has been unsparingly attacked, called a political apostate, the First of the Rats, and compared to Lucifer.[1] And, indeed, it is impossible to deny that Wentworth was inconsistent, that he did things when in authority which he would have been the first to condemn when in opposition, or that self-interest was probably one of the motives which influenced him.

Wentworth, however, was one of those strong, masterful, able people who have an unlimited confidence in their own capacity, and very little in that of anyone else. He had been with the Opposition because he distrusted Buckingham and specially disliked his foreign enterprises, and because of the arbitrary acts which the Government had committed. But he was never really of the Opposition; he had no sympathy with the Puritan leanings of the majority, and felt contempt for many of his fellow members. Moreover, he was no believer in Parliamentary government—government, in his view, was to be for the people, but not by them. To him princes were, to use his own expression, the "indulgent nursing-fathers to their people", and the authority of a king "the keystone which closeth up the arch of order and government". And only by allying himself with the king could he show, it must be remembered, his capacity for administration. Wentworth therefore joined the king, and was made President of the North in 1628, which gave him the control of the northern counties. In 1632 he became Lord Deputy of Ireland, and it was in Ireland that he was to exhibit the strength and weakness of his statesmanship (see p. 426). Then in the summer of 1639 he became Charles I's principal adviser, and quickly made himself the most hated man in England.

Wentworth's great friend was *Laud*. He and Laud were alike in that energy and whole-hearted devotion to the king's

[1] See Lord Macaulay's *Essay on Hallam's History*.

service, and in that determination to get things done which was expressed in their letters to one another by their watchword "Thorough". Laud had been President of St. John's College, Oxford, then Bishop of St. David's; in 1628 he became Bishop of London, and five years later Archbishop of Canterbury. It was Laud who directed the ecclesiastical policy of the Government. In that policy there is much that can be praised. Large sums of money were spent in the erection and restoration of churches. Order and decency were enforced in the Church services. Laud made, through deputies, a visitation of all the dioceses in his archbishopric, and found much to amend: the chapter of a cathedral neglecting to preach and often absent; the aisle of one church being used by the bailiff of a local lord to melt the lead which had been stripped from the roof; the aisle of another being used for cock-fighting, the vicar himself being present.[1] Moreover, Laud was no respecter of persons, and attacked wrongdoing in however high quarters it might be discovered.

Laud.

But, with all his energy and goodness, Laud was unsympathetic and narrow-minded, a man who thought that everyone must believe in the High Church doctrines which he believed in, whether he be English, Irish, Scot, or even French or Spaniard. Through his control of the Press he tried to stop the publication of all views antagonistic to his own. But it was especially in the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission that Laud made his evil reputation.[2] Laud, with his sharp tongue and irritable temper, always voted for the biggest punishment upon theological offenders, and it was chiefly due to him that such barbarous punishments were inflicted as flogging and branding and the cutting off of ears. If Laud saved the Church of England, as in Mr. Gladstone's judgment he did, from being bound in the fetters of an iron system of compulsory and Calvinistic belief, he was also responsible for driving the moderate Protestants into the arms of the Puritans.

[1] Laud also stopped St. Paul's Cathedral being used as a club for gossip by the men of fashion, or as a playground by those of more tender years, and he insisted that people should not come into church with their hats on.

[2] These courts had been established the one in the reign of Henry VII and the other in that of Elizabeth; they tried a man in secret, without a jury, and made prisoners give evidence against themselves.

The difficulties of Charles during this period of eleven years were mainly financial. He, of course, possessed the Crown lands and feudal dues, and still continued to levy tunnage and poundage and other impositions. But his income from these sources was insufficient, and he fell back upon various expedients for enlarging it. He caused all those who held lands by feudal tenure or of a certain value—over £40 a year—to become knights and to pay fees for the honour, or else to be fined for refusing it. He fined nobles and others whose ancestors had encroached—perhaps hundreds of years before—on the limits of the Crown forests. Various companies, on agreeing to pay certain annual payments, were granted monopolies of the commonest articles of use, such as bricks, salt, and soap.[1] Then in 1634 Charles wished to enlarge the fleet. He accordingly levied for that purpose a tax called *ship-money* from the coast towns of England, for which there was a precedent in Anglo-Saxon times. The tax was sufficiently successful for a "second writ of ship-money", as it was called, to be issued not only to coast towns, but to inland counties as well; and, though there was grumbling, much money was collected.

Finance.

Up till *1637*, though there had been great dissatisfaction, there was little resistance to the king. With that year, however, the struggle began—it has been well called the first year of the Revolutionary Epoch. Popular feeling had the opportunity of showing itself in *June*. Prynne, a lawyer, Burton, a clergyman, and Bastwick, a doctor, were sentenced, for attacks on the bishops,[2] to lose their ears, to be fined £5000, and to be imprisoned for life. They suffered the first part of this sentence in Palace Yard. Prynne had already lost part of his ears for an attack upon the stage[3] four years

The beginning of the Crisis, 1637.

[1] They were not, strictly speaking, monopolies, but they came to the same thing. For instance, the sale of soap by independent makers was forbidden unless it was certified as being "sweet and good" by the soap company—a certificate which, however excellent the soap might be, it was difficult to procure.

[2] It must be confessed that the attacks were of a somewhat scurrilous character. The bishops, Bastwick had written, were the enemies of God and the king, and the Church which they governed was as full of ceremonies as a dog is full of fleas.

[3] His work against stage plays was one thousand pages in length, and it is said that in the course of his life he wrote two hundred books and pamphlets. He used to write all day long, his servant bringing him every three hours a roll and a pot of ale "to refocillate his wasted spirits".

previously, but his case had then aroused little interest. Now, however, all London came to show its sympathy. His path and that of his fellow sufferers was strewn with flowers, many people wept, and there was an angry yell when Prynne's ears—or what remained of them—were sawn off. Then in *November* 1637 came the famous trial of John Hampden, which showed that the gentlemen of England were beginning to resist the Monarchy. The king had issued a third writ of ship-money; Hampden, a Buckinghamshire squire of importance, had refused to pay. The case was heard, and the judges decided by seven to five that ship-money was legal. But the case, though it had been lost, had aroused intense interest, and the arguments of Hampden's lawyers were circulated over the entire kingdom. In the same year the opinions of the greatest literary figure of the period on Laud's rule were shown in the writing by Milton of *Lycidas*.

Condition of Scotland.

In *Scotland*, however, even more than in England, is the year 1637 one of importance, and, as the affairs in England and Scotland are so inextricably interwoven after this date, it will be convenient at this stage to summarize the relations between the first two Stuarts and their Scottish kingdom. The Parliament or Council of Estates in Scotland was a feudal assembly, and its business was controlled by a committee called the "Lords of the Articles", in the nomination of whom the Crown possessed considerable influence. The centre of opposition, therefore, was not the Parliament but the General Assembly of the Kirk[1] of Scotland, a body, however, in which laymen sat as well as the ministers of the Church. The General Assembly was much more democratic in character than the Council of Estates, and held in Scotland the position occupied by the House of Commons in England. Moreover in Scotland, in the seventeenth century, religion was not only, as in England, a dominating element in the popular mind; it was the sole element, to the exclusion of everything else. And it is on religious questions that the conflict came between the Monarchy and the Scottish people.

The chief question that arose was that of Church government. The Kirk in Scotland was Presbyterian in form. Each local congregation was governed by its kirk session, consisting of the

[1] The Scottish name for Church.

minister and ruling lay elders, both elected by the congregation. The kirk sessions were subordinate to the Presbytery, consisting of all the ministers and one elder from each congregation in a district. The Presbyteries in a given area were subject to the Synod, and the Synod to the General Assembly, which consisted of ministers and elders chosen by the local Presbyteries. Upon this system the Crown wished to superimpose bishops. But the Scots hated bishops; indeed, both in Scotland and England, no epithet or synonym was, for the more extreme Protestants, too severe in speaking of a bishop.[1] If the Stuarts believed in the Divine right of king and bishop, the Scottish people believed no less ardently that the Calvinistic creed and the Presbyterian form of government were of Divine origin. The powers claimed by the Stuarts for the bishop were as nothing compared to those actually exercised by the Presbyterian leaders. The General Assembly wielded all the terrors of excommunication; the presbyters and ministers in their localities supervised every detail of private life. "New Presbyter", said Milton, and with some truth, "is but Old Priest writ large".

The Kirk and its government.

James, in his policy in Scotland, showed a good deal of tenacity, and by 1612 he had fully established Episcopacy in that country. He then wished to improve the forms of worship in Scotland. In 1618, by a mixture of bribes and intimidation, the General Assembly was induced to pass what were called, from the place of its meeting, *the five Articles of Perth*. Of these Articles perhaps the most unpopular was the enforcement of kneeling at Communion, which savoured to the Scottish mind of idolatry.

Policy of James I.

Charles came to the throne in 1625, and in twelve years had succeeded in uniting the whole nation against him. To begin with, his marriage with a Roman Catholic met with much unfavourable comment. Then he proceeded to frighten the nobles by an attempt to recover some of the Church-lands which they had obtained at the Reformation.

Charles I and the New Service Book, 1637.

[1] Thus one English writer calls the bishops "not the pillars but the caterpillars of the Church"; another in a parody of the Litany says: "From plague, pestilence, and famine, from bishops, priests, and deacons, good Lord, deliver us". The Scots are not behindhand—one calls the bishops "bellie-gods" regardless of the fact that some bishops, at all events, lived ascetic lives and were decidedly spare of frame; and another characterizes them as "bunchy knobs of papist flesh".

Finally he aroused the anger of the whole people by imposing a new *Service Book* upon them. In the first place, the Scots did not want a Prayer Book at all; they preferred the individual prayers of their own ministers. In the second place, the new Service Book came from England and was similar to the English Prayer Book; that was quite enough in itself to make it highly unacceptable. Lastly, the particulars in which it differed from the English Prayer Book were universally held to be due to the influence of Archbishop Laud, and to be in a Popish direction. Scotland, even more than England, was fanatically anti-Popish, and Laud was regarded as a Papist in disguise. The objections to the book were summed up by a contemporary: "It was," he said, "a Popish-English-Scottish-Mass-Service-Book."

In 1637 the Service Book was introduced, and at once there was an uproar. At St. Giles', Edinburgh, occurred the famous scene when a woman—tradition says her name was Jenny Geddes — struck a gentleman in the face with a Bible for saying "Amen" to one of the prayers, and subsequently hurled a stool at the head of the Dean who was conducting the service.[1] All Scotland was in a ferment. And then came the idea of forming a "Band" or "Covenant" for mutual defence. Such bands had been frequent in olden time amongst the nobles. But now all classes—nobles, ministers, and people — signed a *National League and Covenant* for the preservation of their Protestant religion (1638). In this crisis Charles played the part that might have been expected of him. He tried intimidation and he tried conciliation, but with an ill-advised persistency he would not withdraw the Service Book. He authorized a General Assembly to meet to consider the situation, and then withdrew his leave. Nevertheless the Assembly met in Glasgow Cathedral during the autumn of 1638, and within a month had annulled the new Service Book, renounced the five Articles of Perth, and not only deposed the bishops, but excommunicated a certain number of them into the bargain.

The Covenant and the Glasgow Assembly, 1638.

War was inevitable, therefore, and it came in 1639. It is

[1] It is said that these acts were really due to men dressed in women's clothes; but it has been plausibly argued that, if such was the case, the stool would have hit, instead of missing, the Dean's head.

known as the *First Bishops' War*, and was soon over. All the enthusiasm and all the organization were on the side of the Scots. Their commander, Leslie, "the little, crooked man",[1] who had served for thirty years in the Swedish armies, took up a strong position on Duns Law, near Berwick. Charles marched north, but his army and its equipment were contemptible. "Our men," wrote a Royalist, "are very raw, our arms of all sorts naught, our victuals scarce." Consequently Charles could do nothing but agree by the Treaty of Berwick to the Scottish demands, the chief of which was that another Assembly should meet.

The First Bishops' War, 1639.

A new Assembly accordingly met at Edinburgh, and, as Charles would not recognize the measures of the Glasgow Assembly as legal, it promptly proceeded to re-pass them, in the words of a contemporary, "at a gallop". Moreover, it added a new act making the signing of the National League and Covenant compulsory on the whole nation, for the idea of toleration was as displeasing to Scottish as it was to English opinion. But the Treaty of Berwick was only a truce, and Charles had no intention of yielding. Strafford was summoned from Ireland, and proceeded to organize a new campaign, and the *Second Bishops' War* broke out in 1640. Not even Strafford, however, could do anything with an army composed of pressed men and inexperienced officers. The Scottish army invaded England and occupied the northern shires. And, finally, Charles had to make a treaty by which the Scots were to be left in occupation of the North, and to be paid £850 a day until a final arrangement could be concluded (October, 1640). In August, 1641, this arrangement was made, and the Scots were granted every one of their demands.

The Edinburgh Assembly, 1639, and the Second Bishops' War, 1640.

3. The Short and the Long Parliament, 1640–42

We must now trace the influence of Scottish affairs upon English politics. The Scottish rebellion, it has been said, gave back

[1] He was somewhat illiterate, and he once said that his instruction in youth had stopped at the letter "g"; but he was a capable soldier.

to England her Parliamentary system. For eleven years Charles had done without Parliament. A certain skill in finding pretexts for gathering money combined with a rigid economy had made this possible. But the money was only just enough for current expenses; any extra strain would break down Charles's system and make a Parliament inevitable. After the First Bishops' War was over Strafford arrived in England, and, by his advice, in order to obtain funds to renew the war with Scotland, a Parliament was summoned. That Parliament—called the *Short Parliament*—met in *April, 1640*, and it lasted but three weeks. The king tried to bargain for subsidies in return for giving up ship-money, but he failed; and Parliament, when it proceeded to petition for a peaceful settlement with Scotland, was dissolved. This Parliament was sufficiently long-lived to bring to the front a Somersetshire squire named *Pym*, who was to show himself a great Parliamentarian. Though he lacked the nobility and the fire of Eliot, he was a clear and cogent speaker, a clever tactician, and the possessor of unbounded energy. In a speech of two hours—an exceptionally long speech for that period—he attacked the misgovernment of the king, and summed up his political creed by declaring that "the powers of Parliament are to the body politic as the rational faculties of the soul to a man". And he quickly achieved for himself a position which led his enemies to call him, in the next Parliament, "King Pym".

English affairs; the Short Parliament, 1640.

The Second Bishops' War followed the dissolution of the Short Parliament. In the peace which ended it Charles, as we have seen, promised to pay £850 a day to the Scottish army. But with this large sum of money required, he was compelled to summon another Parliament and, what is more, to listen to its demands. The House of Commons was, at that time, an aristocratic and not what we should now consider a democratic assembly; and the Parliament which met in *November, 1640*—to be known in history as the *Long Parliament*—was composed, it has been said, of the very flower of the English gentry and educated laity.

The Long Parliament meets, Nov., 1640.

The work of this Parliament for the first nine months of its existence was the abolition of the arbitrary power of the Crown.

Now at last, after nigh forty years, some of the questions at issue between King and Parliament were to be definitely settled. And it is worth noting that the House of Commons during these nine months worked with practical unanimity—a fact which shows how universal the dissatisfaction with the king's government had been. Under Pym's leadership laws were passed declaring that this particular Parliament was not to be adjourned or dissolved without its own consent, and that, in future, Parliaments must be summoned every three years (the *Triennial Act*). The arbitrary courts—such as the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission — were abolished, and taxes such as ship-money and knighthood fines were declared illegal. Only on a Bill for the abolition of Episcopacy—the Root and Branch Bill—was there great divergence of opinion.

Its Acts, Nov. 1640-Aug. 1641.

Along with these laws came the punishment of the king's former advisers. Some, however, had fled overseas, but others were imprisoned and impeached,[1] and amongst these were the two greatest, Laud and Strafford. Laud was not beheaded till 1645, but to the popular imagination "Black Tom Tyrant", as Strafford was called, was the embodiment of the arbitrary power of the king. In the words of a contemporary, "the whole kingdom was his accuser", and when he was impeached for treason it was felt that his trial would decide the question whether government was to be in future by the king's prerogative alone or by King and Parliament combined. But it was impossible to prove that Strafford had been guilty of treason: he might have been guilty of acts against the nation, but not of acts against the king. Of his government in Ireland, which was one point of attack, he made a very able defence. It was universally believed—possibly with some justice —that Strafford had advised the king to utilize the Irish army to overawe English resistance. But the only evidence of this was contained in some notes taken at a Privy Council meeting by one of its members, in which Strafford is reported to have said: "You have an army here you may employ to reduce this

The Trial of Strafford.

[1] In the whole course of English history there have only been seventy impeachments, and of this number a quarter took place between 1640 and 1642.

kingdom", and from the context it was impossible to judge whether "this kingdom" referred to England or Scotland.

Execution of Strafford, May, 1641.

Eventually the House of Commons gave up the impeachment and passed instead a Bill of Attainder, condemning him as guilty of treason.[1] The bill was sent up to the House of Lords, which, after some hesitation, passed it. The only hope of life left to Strafford lay in the king. But after two days of agonizing doubt Charles, with his palace surrounded by an angry crowd, afraid that if he held out his beloved queen herself would be impeached,[2] and advised to surrender by his Council, by the judges and by some of the bishops, and even by Strafford himself, eventually gave his consent to the bill. Strafford, brave and noble to the end, was executed on Tower Hill (May, 1641).[3] To the 200,000 who were present, as well as to the great majority of Englishmen, his execution was necessary for the safety of the nation.

The Grand Remonstrance, Nov., 1641.

At the end of the summer of 1641 Englishmen had come to the parting of the ways, and the work of the Long Parliament was to be no longer unanimous. The final split between the two parties came in the debates on the *Grand Remonstrance* (*November*). Previously to this Charles had made a journey to Scotland (*September*) with the hope, no doubt, of organizing a party favourable to his cause—a hope in which he was disappointed. It was whilst he was playing a game of golf in that country in *October* that he heard news of the Irish Catholic rebellion[4] (p. 428). That rebellion had important results in England. Even its horrors were exaggerated in the accounts received in England. Consequently Protestant feeling was inflamed and affected the king, because he was suspected of some complicity with the rebels. Moreover, to suppress the rebellion an army would be necessary. This aroused a fresh question of the very greatest

[1] Consequently they had not got to prove his guilt; they merely asserted that he was guilty and ought to be executed.

[2] The House of Commons intended to impeach the queen for her intrigues with foreign powers if the king had refused to pass the bill.

[3] "I thank God," he said, when he took off his doublet at the scaffold, "I am not afraid of death, nor daunted with any discouragement rising from my fears, but do as cheerfully put off my doublet at this time as ever I did when I went to bed."

[4] According to tradition, Charles finished his game.

consequence—Who was to control the army, the king or the Parliament? Upon the answer hung the liberties of England.

It was now that Pym brought forward the document known as the *Grand Remonstrance.* This was, partly, a recapitulation of all the evil deeds of which Pym and the Puritan party held Charles to be guilty. But it also contained a scheme of reform for the future which was much too advanced for many at that period. It proposed, for instance, that only ministers should be appointed of whom the House of Commons should approve, and that a Synod of Divines should be summoned to make religious changes. Such proposals would, in the opinion of many, have shattered the power of king and bishop alike. The debates upon them were keen and protracted. Churchman was ranged against Puritan, and constitutional Royalists like Falkland and Hyde, who still wished the king to direct the Government, against those like Pym, who were grasping at sovereignty, and wished Parliament to exercise direct control over the ministers. The Remonstrance was finally carried, long after midnight, in the early morning of *November 23*, but only by eleven votes. In the excitement members clutched their swords. "I thought," said one, "we had all sat in the Valley of the Shadow of Death." The Civil War was not far off.

To attempt a *coup d'état* and to fail is fatal. Yet this was the fortune of Charles. On *January 4, 1642*, hearing that the House of Commons intended to impeach the queen, he decided to forestall such an action by accusing the five leading members of the House of high treason for intrigues with the Scots. Included in this number were Pym and Hampden. Charles determined to arrest the five members himself, and went down to the House of Commons accompanied by a guard of some 400 men.[1] But, through an indiscreet friend of the queen's, the five members had learnt the king's intention, and when Charles entered the House he found, to use his own words, that "the birds had flown". For the king to enter the House of Commons in this fashion was, of course,

The attempt on the five members, Jan., 1642.

[1] It is said that Charles hesitated on the morning of the 4th to carry out his design, but the queen urged him on. "Go, you coward," she cried, "and pull out these rogues by the ears, or never see my face more!"

a scandalous breach of its privileges, and when he left it there were loud and angry cries of "Privilege! Privilege!" There is no need to detail the history of the next seven months. Both sides tried to obtain control of the militia, and Parliament passed a Bill with this object, which Charles vetoed. Both sides made preparations for war. In April Hotham, the Governor of Hull, went so far as to refuse the king admittance to that town. And on *August 22*, at Nottingham, the king's standard was set up.[1] The great Civil War had begun.

Aug., 1642, Civil War.

XXVIII. The Civil War, 1642-45

In the great Civil War the bulk of the nobility and the gentry and their tenants were on the side of the King, whilst the majority of the townsmen and yeomen fought for Parliament. Yet it would be a mistake to regard the war as one of class against class. Eighty peers fought for the King, thirty fought against him, and 175 members of the House of Commons belonged to the Royalist party. Geographically, a line drawn from the Humber to Southampton roughly divides the two parties: east of that line is, on the whole, Parliamentary; west of that line, with the important exceptions of Bristol, Gloucester, and Plymouth, is, on the whole, Royalist. The real line of division is, however, political—as to whether King or Parliament shall be supreme—and perhaps, above all, religious, the Anglican against the Puritan.

Supporters of two parties.

Summing up the advantages possessed by either side, it should be noted that the Parliamentary party had possession of the city of London, and that its cause was probably supported by two-thirds of the population and three-quarters of the wealth of the country. Fewer troops also were employed by Parliament in the garrisoning of small detached forts and fortified country houses. Moreover, the navy was on the side of Parliament, and could be employed not only to ward

The chances of the war.

[1] According to Clarendon, it was blown down the same night by a very strong and unruly wind—an inauspicious beginning.

off foreign aid, but also to carry troops and to protect the coast towns. The Parliamentary forces undoubtedly contained the better infantry, but at that time the bayonet had not been invented. Consequently half the infantry were pikemen, and useless beyond the reach of their fifteen-feet pike, and half were musketeers, and therefore useless for hand-to-hand fighting. Moreover, the musketeer's task in those days was a harassing and laborious one, and he took a long time to fire his musket.[1] Therefore the infantry were greatly handicapped, and we find in the Civil War that the battles were won by the cavalry.

But it was in the cavalry in the opening stages of the war that the Royalists had such a great advantage, for they possessed better riders and better horses. Moreover, the Royalists had the king and the unity of aim and command which his presence should have given; they had at first more experienced and better leaders; and during the first two years of the war strategical ability was confined to the King's party. Above all, in *Prince Rupert*,[2] not yet twenty-three, the nephew of Charles, the Royalists had not only a born cavalry leader—brave, inspiring, energetic—but a general capable of planning a decisive campaign. Prince Rupert also was a leader who had profited by the new Swedish tactics to make his men charge hard and reserve their pistol fire till the charge had gone home.[3] Rupert and the other Royalist leaders should have proved more than a match for a general with so little initiative as the Parliament's first commander, Lord Essex, possessed, or for "sweet meeke" Lord Manchester, as he was called, both of whom, moreover, were "half-measures" men, "not wanting to beat the King too much". Rupert, however, was to exhibit a certain sharpness of temper in counsel which made him a difficult man to work with, and, above

[1] A musketeer had to extract powder from a flask and pour it into the muzzle of his musket, to put a bullet which he had previously deposited in his mouth into the muzzle, to ram the bullet home, to fit the musket into a rest (it was too heavy and too long to be without one), and finally to ignite the powder with a match (a twisted strand of tow), which had probably in the preceding operations been scorching the back of his hands.

[2] His mother was the Princess Elizabeth, who married the Elector Palatine. She had the reputation of being a very devoted mother; but, according to one of her daughters, she much preferred the society of dogs and monkeys to that of her own children when they were young.

[3] The old tactics for cavalry were to advance slowly, to "caracole", as the expression went, up to the infantry, to discharge pistols, and then to retire.

all, an impetuousness in battle which was to ruin the King's cause.

The campaign of 1642.

The aim of the King in the *first* year of the war (*1642*) was to *march upon London with one army*. Starting from Shrewsbury, he outmarched Essex, who was also coming from the Midlands, but then turned to meet him at *Edgehill* (October).[1] Both wings of the Royalist cavalry were successful, but Rupert pursued too far, and in the excitement the reserve cavalry of Charles—called the "show-troop", for it consisted largely of well-dressed landed proprietors—joined the pursuit. Consequently the Royalist infantry was hard pressed, and Rupert after a lengthy absence only returned in time to make the battle a drawn one. The King was, however, able to continue his march, but when he got as close to London as Turnham Green he found his progress barred by 24,000 Londoners, and accordingly retired to Oxford. Military critics disagree as to whether Charles should have tried to force his way to London; but his army was never to get so near the capital again.

The campaign of 1643; the triple advance upon London.

In the *second* year of the war (1643) the King designed a *triple advance upon London*. Lord Newcastle,[2] after subduing the north, was to march south; Hopton, after subduing the south-west, was to advance east; Charles was to keep Essex employed, and advance upon London when the others were ready. In the spring and summer the outlook was black for Parliament. Newcastle won *Atherton Moor* (June 1), and in consequence secured a large part of Yorkshire. In the west Bristol was taken by Rupert, and Hopton utterly defeated Waller, the rising general on the side of Parliament, at *Roundaway Down* in July. It was this battle which led Pym to begin serious negotiations with the Scots for the loan of an army, and which caused the few members

[1] It was usual, in the Civil War, for the armies to wear "field signs" to distinguish them. Thus, at Edgehill, the Parliamentarians had orange scarves; at Newbury they wore green boughs; and at Marston Moor, white handkerchiefs or white pieces of paper in their hats. Later, in the New Model Army, the uniform was red—hence red became the colour of the British army.

[2] Newcastle once spent £20,000 in entertaining James I at Welbeck, Ben Jonson writing the masques on that occasion. Subsequently he became tutor to the Prince of Wales (afterwards Charles II).


ENGLAND
as divided between the King and the Parliament at the end of 1643.
Districts held by the Parliament & the Scots shaded thus
Kilsuth
Dunbar
Glasgow
EDINBURGH
Dunse Law
SCOTLAND
Philiphaugh
Carlisle
Newcastle
Marston Moor
York
Preston
Adwalton Moor
Tadcaster
Hull
Pontefract
Manchester
Gainsborough
Lincoln
Rowton Heath
Chester
Newark
Derby
Nottingham
Shrewsbury
Lichfield
Leicester
Norwich
Tamworth
Naseby
Worcester
Warwick
Northampton
Hereford
Gloucester
Edge Hill
Cropredy Bridge
Colchester
Oxford
Chalgrove
Pembroke
LONDON
Brirtol
Lansdown
Reading
Roundway Down
Newbury
Maidstone
Bridgwater
Taunton
Langport
Cheriton
Sherborne
Portsmouth
Stratton
Exeter
Poole
Lyme
Bradock Down
Plymouth
Lostwithiel

of the House of Lords left in London to propose to the House of Commons that most abject terms of peace should be made with the King—terms only rejected in the House of Commons by seven votes. In the centre, meanwhile, the King had lost Reading, but the Parliamentarians had been beaten in a skirmish at *Chalgrove*, near Oxford, a skirmish in which Hampden was killed.

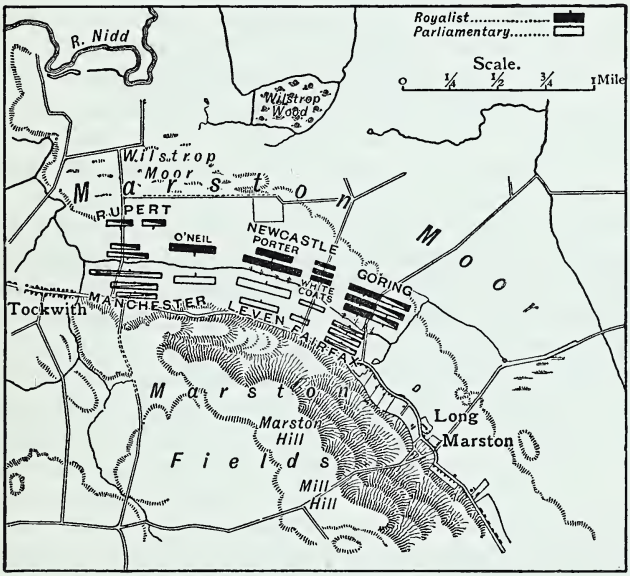
In *September, 1643*, however, the tide turned. "Hull and Plymouth", it has been said, "saved the Parliamentary cause." Newcastle's Northerners with Hull untaken refused to advance south, as they feared to leave their homes and property at the mercy of their foes in that town. Hopton, though he continued to advance east, found his army dwindling away because his Westerners had similar fears with regard to Plymouth. Meanwhile Charles, unable to advance on London unsupported, had advanced to besiege Gloucester early in August, and in September Essex successfully relieved it. Charles, however, intercepted the army of Essex on its return journey at *Newbury*, but he failed, after an indecisive battle, to prevent the return of Essex to London. In the battle Lord Falkland, one of the noblest figures in the war, was killed. In October, Hull, which Newcastle had besieged, was relieved as the result of a battle at *Winceby*, in which Cromwell, the future leader of the Puritans, was conspicuous. Only in the south did Hopton continue his victorious advance.

In the last month of the year the Parliament suffered a great loss in the death of Pym. Before his death, however, he had succeeded in negotiating an alliance with the Scots. Both sides had appealed to the Scots, but the Presbyterians, feeling that if the King triumphed over Parliament he would inevitably try to subdue them, determined to throw in their lot with Parliament. The Scottish terms were uncompromising—Presbyterianism must be the future religion of England. Parliament, in the *Solemn League and Covenant*, accepted the condition with qualifications,[1] and in return obtained from Scotland an army of 20,000 men—a force which enabled it to win the war.

[1] The Church of England was to be reformed "according to the Word of God and the example of the best reformed Churches". The second half of the sentence refers to the Scottish Church in particular, but the first half might be and was variously interpreted by Scots and English.

With *1644* the war took a somewhat different shape. Each side had secured an ally; the Scots had joined Parliament, and to balance them Charles brought a force over from Ireland. But the tide ran strongly for Parliament. The Scottish army was of immense assistance, whilst the Irish soldiers, who were worthless troops and hated as Catholics, merely

The campaign of 1644.



Marston Moor, July 2nd, 1644

Cromwell was on the left commanding the cavalry in Manchester's Division, and the Scottish cavalry was to the left of him.

alienated a large number of the king's supporters.[1] Moreover, the army of the Eastern Association—an association of Eastern Counties formed originally for defensive purposes only—left its own district, and under Lord Manchester prepared to take an active part in the war; and in March the defeat of Hopton meant

[1] The Irish rebels were regarded with horror by the English, and the use of them by Charles had the same effect in England then, it has been well pointed out, as the employment of Sepoys would have had if a similar crisis had arisen in England just after the Indian Mutiny of 1857.

the loss of all hope of a successful invasion of Sussex and Kent by the Royalists.

In July, 1644, came the great Royalist defeat at *Marston Moor*. Newcastle, who had been besieged in York by the Scots and by Fairfax and Manchester, was relieved by Rupert, and shortly afterwards a great battle was fought between the combined Royalist and Parliamentary forces. The battle of Marston Moor was notable because of the large number of the men employed: the Royalists were seventeen thousand, and the supporters of Parliament were twenty-six thousand in number. But, above all, the battle was important in that Prince Rupert was to find his match. Oliver Cromwell, a Huntingdonshire squire, had trained for the Eastern Association a body of cavalry composed, as he said, of "men of religion", who could stand up to the "men of honour" serving in the Royalist cavalry. Moreover, Cromwell was a leader who could make his cavalry charge as hard as Prince Rupert, but who, unlike Rupert, could keep his men in hand for a further movement. At seven o'clock in the evening Cromwell charged.[1] He defeated, with the aid of the Scottish horse, Rupert's cavalry, then wheeled round and dispersed the Royalist cavalry who had been successful on the other wing. Meantime, the Scottish infantry in the centre were hard pressed. Cromwell, however, quite untiring, came to their assistance and then helped to annihilate the "Whitecoats", as Newcastle's own infantry regiments were called. It was Cromwell who won the battle—indeed, the three chief generals on his side were at one period fugitives from the field—and the result of the battle was not only that Newcastle retired abroad, but that the six northern counties were lost to the king.[2]

Marston Moor, July, 1644.

At the end of August Charles managed to surround *Essex's* army at *Lostwithiel*, in Cornwall, and though Essex himself escaped by sea, and his horse broke through the Royalist lines,

[1] The Royalist leaders thought there would be no fight that day. Newcastle had gone to his great coach, called for a pipe of tobacco, and settled down for the evening.

[2] Here is Cromwell's own description of the battle: "We never charged but we routed the enemy. The left wing, which I commanded, being our own force, saving a few Scots in our rear, beat all the prince's horse, and God made them stubble to our swords. We charged their regiments of foot and routed all we charged."

his infantry had to capitulate. Charles, however, on his return in October, found his way barred at *Newbury* by another army under Manchester and Essex. The battle which followed, like the first battle fought there, was indecisive, though, but for Manchester's want of enterprise, Charles would not have got through, as he succeeded in doing, to Oxford.

Second Battle of Newbury.

The second battle of Newbury brought to a head the dissatisfaction which Cromwell and others felt with the "half measures" men and their lack of energy. This dissatisfaction led to the *Self-denying Ordinance* being carried in Parliament, under which members of Parliament resigned their commissions in the army. Accordingly Manchester and Essex retired, though Cromwell, who resigned because he was a member of the House of Commons, was reappointed to a command. Parliament also resolved to reorganize the army. As a consequence, the Parliament obtained just what it wanted. The *New Model* army, as it was called, was a force well paid and commanded by capable officers.[1] Moreover it was not bound by local ties, and it could, like Wellington's army in the Peninsula, "go anywhere and do anything". Above all, Fairfax[2] was made the commander and was given absolute control, whilst Cromwell, at Fairfax's request, was put in charge of the cavalry.

The Self-denying Ordinance and the New Model Army.

The result of the New Model was seen in *1645* at the battle of *Naseby* (June). Rupert beat the wing opposed to him, it is true, but pursued too far. Cromwell was successful on the other flank, then re-formed his cavalry, and, as at Marston Moor, charged the Royalist infantry who were pressing the Parliamentarians. Cromwell made one more charge at Rupert's returning cavalry, and the day was won. The battle was decisive. It cost Charles half his cavalry, all his infantry and artillery, and most of his best officers. Moreover,

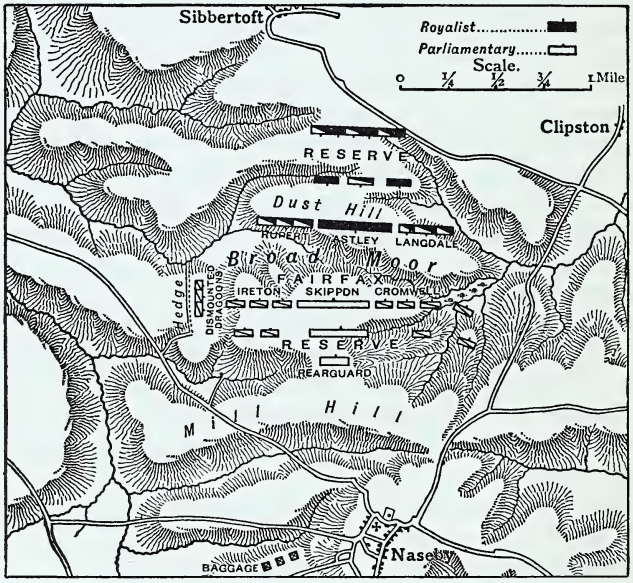
The Battle of Naseby, June, 1645.

[1] It is a mistake to suppose that the officers were not gentlemen—thirty out of thirty-seven colonels were of gentle birth.

[2] Fairfax was a very brave man, a vigorous commander, and an excellent disciplinarian, besides being conspicuous for generosity to his opponents. He was also a lover of learning, and when he captured Oxford in 1646 his first care was to send a strong guard to preserve the famous Bodleian Library.

it revealed to the nation his intrigues with foreign powers, for the cabinet containing much of his correspondence was captured. "The king and the kingdom", says Clarendon, the Royalist historian, "were lost at Naseby"; and after Naseby the war soon ends. To the south-west Fairfax was successful at *Langport*, and in September Bristol was retaken by Fairfax.

But, meantime, in Scotland a brilliant attempt had been made



Naseby, June 14th, 1645

to retrieve the King's fortunes. Some two months after the battle of Marston Moor in 1644, a Scottish nobleman, the *Marquis of Montrose*, opened a campaign on behalf of Charles. He was led to do this partly from a detestation of the Presbyterian tyranny then raging in Scotland, partly because, like almost all Highlanders, he hated the clan Campbell and their chief the Earl of Argyll, who was the leader of the Presbyterians; but his action was chiefly due to his devoted loyalty to the King. With forces which never

Montrose's successes in Scotland, Sept., 1644-Aug., 1645.

exceeded four thousand foot and two hundred horse he won, within the space of twelve months, no less than six battles. His only permanent force was a contingent from Ireland of some sixteen hundred, consisting mainly of Scotsmen who had served in the Irish war; but he also got various clans to assist him.

The first victory was won on September 1, 1644, at *Tippermuir*, near Perth—won by a rush upon a newly levied army.[1] Then after a victory at *Aberdeen*—marred by the excesses of his troops in the town after the battle—Montrose turned upon Argyll. Joined by the Macdonalds, the mortal foes of the Campbells, he penetrated into the Campbell country and won a decisive battle at *Inverlochy*[2] over double his numbers. Finally, after two other successes, he won the battle of *Kilsyth*, near Glasgow (August 15, 1645), though here, it has been said, the mistakes of his enemy were so enormous that it would have been very difficult not to beat him.

After the battle of Kilsyth, Glasgow submitted, and it seemed as if all Scotland might be recovered for the King; Montrose even hoped to cross the border with twenty thousand men. But his victories were at an end. The Macdonalds deserted him to go and renew their fighting with the Campbells. The Gordons went away for some reasons of personal pique. In the Lowlands, where Montrose now was, he obtained no support; the General Assembly had excommunicated him, and his Irish soldiers were regarded as "instruments of Satan". Moreover, two months before the last victory at Kilsyth, had come the fatal day of Naseby. Part of the Scottish forces in England were, therefore, free to operate against Montrose, and marched north. Consequently what remained of Montrose's forces were overwhelmed at *Philiphaugh* (near Selkirk, September, 1645), and Montrose himself had to escape to the Continent. The Civil War both in England and Scotland was now practically over, and finally completed when Charles in May,

Failure of Montrose, Sept., 1645.

[1] In their flight after the battle ten of the good citizens of Perth, it is said, "bursted with running".

[2] Argyll himself was on a barge in the loch during the fight, perhaps because he had dislocated his shoulder three weeks previously; but his enemies had another explanation of his conduct.

1646,[1] surrendered himself to the Scottish army, and when the city of Oxford capitulated in the following June.

XXIX. From the Civil War to the Restoration, 1645-60

The great Civil War was over, but the termination of the war still left great questions undecided. How was England in future to be governed? What form of Christian religion was to be the State religion, and how far was toleration to be extended to those who could not agree with it? These questions, difficult enough in themselves, were complicated by the number of parties who wished to share in their settlement. There was, *first* of all, *Charles I*; the king had been vanquished, but no one at first wished to abolish the monarchy. He played the part that might have been expected of him. Too high-minded and too high-spirited to give up either the Church of England and her bishops, or the control of the ministers and the army, he was not high-minded enough to avoid pretending that he would do so. Designing, as he said himself, to "set his opponents by the ears", he intrigued not only with each party in turn or even simultaneously, but also with the Catholics in Ireland and the great minister, Mazarin, in France.

Parties after the war; the king.

There was, *secondly*, the *Scottish army*, determined, as a matter of conscience, to see that Presbyterianism was permanently established in England as the Parliament had promised in the "Solemn League and Covenant". Then there was, *thirdly*, the *Long Parliament*—shorn, of course, of the hundred and seventy-five Royalists who had joined the king in the Civil War. The majority in this Parliament wished Charles to reign indeed, but not in any real sense to govern; on

The Scottish army and the Parliament.

[1] He left Oxford with his long locks cut and his beard altered; he journeyed to Harrow, surveyed London from that spot, and then by a circuitous route reached the Scottish army in Nottinghamshire.

the other hand, it was afraid of the New Model Army. In matters of religion it was anxious to impose Presbyterianism upon the whole people of England, and had already—with the aid of Scottish Commissioners and a body of people called the Westminster Assembly of Divines—taken steps to make it the established religion in England.

Fourthly, there gradually emerge—as in all big movements—various groups of *Extremists*: Democrats, who wanted annual parliaments and universal suffrage; Levellers, who wanted all men to be equal; and idealists, who thought the Fifth Monarchy[1] was about to be achieved under their own beneficent rule. *Lastly*, and above all, there was the *New Model Army*. In this army the Independents predominated; they were indifferent as to what form of established religion was set up, but were determined to secure toleration for "tender consciences", and to be free from the absolute control either of an Anglican bishop or of a Presbyterian elder. An army of forty to fifty thousand men, well trained, well officered, and well disciplined, was bound to be irresistible in politics if it chose to interfere.[2] Moreover, in Oliver Cromwell it possessed unquestionably the greatest man of this epoch.

The Extremists and the New Model Army.

Born at Huntingdon in 1599, of a good family, *Cromwell* became a member of Parliament at the age of twenty-nine. In 1642, at the age of forty-three, his military career began, and it was not to close till he was fifty-two. He had made his reputation in the cavalry during the Civil War, and to him was due the chief credit for organizing and training horsemen that could rival Prince Rupert's. In his cavalry tactics he, like Rupert, did not make the mistake of firing before charging, but, unlike Rupert, he did not rely, it has been said, so much upon the pace as upon the weight and solidarity of his charge.[3] In his campaigns, both during the Civil

Oliver Cromwell.

[1] The last of the great monarchies referred to in the prophecy of Daniel (*Dan.* ii. 44).

[2] Enemies as well as friends bear witness to its discipline. Punishments, when inflicted, were apt to be severe; for blasphemy or cursing, soldiers were sometimes bored through the tongue with a red-hot iron.

[3] His cavalry did not gallop, but charged in close order, to use Cromwell's own words, at a "pretty round trot".

War and later, he showed that, though not perhaps a great strategist, he possessed real genius in seeing the critical points of a battle, and untiring energy in following up a victory.

In politics, so far, he had not made much mark. As a member of the Long Parliament, however, he had shown himself greatly interested in religious questions, and a keen partisan; "if the Grand Remonstrance had not passed," he said, "I would have sold all I had the next morning, and never seen England more." In the years after the Civil War was over, his most striking characteristic, especially in his negotiations with king or Parliament, is the long hesitation and indecision he shows in making up his mind; and then, when a decision has at last been arrived at, the "swift, daring hammer-stroke", as it has been called, that follows.

The time has long gone by when Cromwell was regarded as a hypocrite, half knave, half fanatic. A man of intense religious feeling, who looked upon all he did as due to God's providence, he possessed at the same time strong practical common sense. "Trust in God and keep your powder dry" is said to have been the advice he gave to his soldiers—and the saying illustrates this double aspect of his character. His speeches are somewhat intricate and sometimes unintelligible, but they reveal a man of masterful energy who never lost sight of his ideals. Though a hater of the Roman Catholic religion and not very lenient to supporters of the Anglican bishops, he was large-hearted; and his ideas of toleration, inadequate as they seem to us to-day, were far more liberal than those generally prevalent during his own lifetime. If, when he came to supreme power, he showed himself anxious to put down undesirable amusements and to make life in England more serious, it must not be supposed that he was averse to all pleasure. On the contrary, he was fond of music and of writing verses; he loved good horses, and was a bold jumper and a skilful driver.[1] Cromwell, above all, was an Englishman. He was, in the words of the great historian of this epoch, "with all his physical and moral audacity, with all his tenderness and spiritual yearnings, in the world of action what

[1] A team of six horses did run away with him, however, in Hyde Park, while he was Protector, to the great joy of his enemies, who wrote numberless lampoons on the subject.

Shakespeare was in the world of thought, the greatest because the most typical Englishman of all time".

The history of the fourteen years that follow the Civil War can be briefly put. The New Model Army begins to interfere in politics, and finally becomes supreme, with Cromwell as its leader. It then tries to base its authority upon the consent of the English people as expressed in Parliament—and in this it fails. But we must follow the stages in a little more detail.

The years 1646-60.

1. From the fall of Oxford till the execution of the King, 1646–49

In these fourteen years we may take, as a *First Period*, the two and a half years that elapse from the fall of the city of Oxford until the execution of the king (June, 1646–January, 1649). They are years of negotiations and intrigue, of which the merest outline must suffice. First of all, the king was with the Scottish army, which retired to Newcastle. He refused to accept the Solemn League and Covenant, as the Scots pressed him to do, and he refused to accept the terms which Parliament proposed—terms, indeed, that would have taken all power away from him. As he refused their terms, the Scottish army could not take him back to their own country; and they finally—having previously received from Parliament £400,000 for their expenses—handed the king over to Parliament, and then recrossed the Tweed[1] (February, 1647).

Period I: June, 1646–Jan., 1649. (a) Charles and the Scots.

The next step was that Parliament proceeded to quarrel with the army. The differences were partly religious. Parliament was a supporter of Presbyterianism. The army consisted largely of Independents, who objected just as much to the rule of the presbyter as to the rule of the priest, and who wanted liberty for "tender consciences". The Parliament—reasonably enough, now that the war was over—wished

(b) Parliament and the army.

[1] "The Scotch army", it was said, "sold their king as Judas sold his Master", and accepted the money as "blood money", to "their own eternal infamy"; but it is difficult to see what other policy they could have pursued.

to reduce the army by one-third, and proposed to transfer the bulk of what was left to Ireland, to finish the war in that country. But it revealed its jealousy of the army by proposing to break up its old organization. Moreover, it was foolish enough to think that the army would be satisfied with six weeks' pay, when in the case of the infantry eighteen weeks' and in the case of the cavalry forty-three weeks' pay was owing. The army naturally objected, and elected men called "agitators" (i.e. agents) to make known their grievances. Finally, having might if not also right on their side, Cornet Joyce and a body of soldiers seized the king at Holmby House,[1] in Northamptonshire, where he was residing, and carried him off to the army headquarters at Newmarket (*June, 1647*);[2] whilst the army itself approached London, and insisted upon the retirement from the House of Commons of the eleven members most hostile to it. This was the first direct interference of the army with the Parliament, and it was by no means to be the last. Cromwell had tried to mediate between them, but finally joined the army.

The next stage is occupied with the negotiations between the army and the king. Drawn up by Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, the "Heads of the Proposals", as the army terms were called, recognized Episcopacy as the State religion, but allowed toleration for other sects. They set up a Council of State to manage foreign affairs and the army, and left for ten years the appointment of ministers with Parliament. The king was perhaps unwise to refuse these terms.

(c) The army and the king.

But Charles preferred to turn to the Scots, and this opens another stage in the tangled history of these negotiations. There had been in Scotland, especially amongst the nobles, a reaction in favour of the king, and the Scots were angry at the success of the Independents, and still hoped that Presbyterianism might be enforced upon England. At the suggestion of the Scottish Commissioners, the king, in

(d) The king and the Scots again.

[1] Parliament had treated Charles fairly well at Holmby; he had been allowed to ride about the country with an escort, and to play bowls in the gardens of the neighbouring country houses.

[2] "Where is your commission?" said Charles to Joyce on his arrival. "Here," answered Joyce, pointing to his soldiers. "It is as fair a commission," was Charles's answer, "and as well-written a commission as any I have seen written in my life."

November, 1647, effected his escape, and fled to *Carisbrooke Castle*, in the Isle of Wight, the governor of which place, however, remained, contrary to the king's expectation, faithful to the army. Consequently he was kept a prisoner, but he managed, nevertheless, to complete his negotiations with the Scots. Two days after Christmas Day, 1647, Charles signed a treaty called "The Agreement",[1] by which, in return for his restoration to the throne of England, Charles promised to establish Presbyterianism in England for three years, and to suppress other sects.

The Second Civil War, 1648.

As a result of "the Agreement" the Duke of Hamilton and a Scottish army invaded England in 1648; and Royalist risings also took place in Wales and in the south-east of England. But the Second Civil War, as it is called, was a half-hearted affair. Scotland was divided, the majority of the Presbyterian ministers, so potent in influence, being against the expedition to England. The Scottish army lacked enthusiasm, and was moreover ill equipped—only one man in five knew how to handle musket or pike, and there was not a single piece of artillery. Consequently, whilst Fairfax subdued the south-east and took Colchester, Cromwell, in a campaign of great energy, interposed his army between Hamilton and Scotland. He destroyed at *Preston* an English Royalist force attached to the Scottish army, and then, in a relentless pursuit of thirty miles, caused the Scottish army to capitulate, ten thousand prisoners falling into his hands (*August, 1648*). Finally, Cromwell entered Scotland, and restored the influence of Argyll, the head of the Presbyterian party.

The execution of the king, Jan., 1649.

Meantime, during the war, the king was again negotiating with Parliament, and was making concessions which he had no intention of keeping. But the end was near. Cromwell and his army had gone to the war with the intention of bringing that "man of blood", as they called the king, to account on their return. When they did return, to find Parliament carrying on negotiations with the king, they resorted to force. On *December 6, 1648*, Colonel *Pride* and a body of red-coated musketeers, standing at the door of

[1] The treaty was signed, wrapped in lead, and buried in the castle garden until it could be safely taken away.

the House of Commons, excluded a hundred and forty-three of its members from entering. "Pride's Purge" completed, the remaining members—now only about ninety in number—decided to set up a tribunal to try the king.[1]

The result of the trial was a foregone conclusion; and at four minutes past two in the afternoon of *January 30, 1649*, on a scaffold erected outside the Banqueting Hall of Whitehall, the king was beheaded.[2] Never had Charles shown himself to possess such nobility and kingliness of character as in his last days. There is a story that Cromwell, in the middle of the following night, visited the king's body, looked at it mournfully, and murmured the words, "Cruel necessity!"[3] The cruelty of the execution no one will deny; its necessity has been matter of controversy from that day to this. The deed, at all events, shocked public opinion at the time,[4] and the publication a few days after the execution of the *Eikon Basilike*, which purported to contain the king's last thoughts and meditations, led an ever-increasing number to regard him as a martyr.

2. The rule of the "Rump Parliament", 1649–53

So began the Commonwealth. We may take as a *Second Period* the *four* years between *January, 1649*, and *April, 1653*.

Period II: Jan., 1649–April, 1653. The "Rump" Parliament.

The Government during these years was in the hands of the House of Commons which had been returned to the Long Parliament in 1640; but by successive purgings it had been, out of an original total of four hundred and ninety members, "winnowed, sifted, and

[1] The trial took place in Westminster Hall, and the place where Charles stood is marked by a brass tablet. As the galleries were crowded with spectators, including ladies, the President of the Court took the precaution to wear a shot-proof hat, which can still be seen at Oxford.

[2] The king, it is said, wore two shirts in consequence of the cold, so that he might not shiver and appear to be afraid, and he walked so fast from St. James's to the Banqueting Hall at Whitehall, outside which he was executed, that his guards could scarcely keep up with him.

[3] The story is told by Lord Southampton, who had leave to watch by the body that night. The figure of the visitor was muffled; but from his voice and gait Lord Southampton took him to be Cromwell.

[4] When the executioner showed the king's head to the thousands gathered at Whitehall, "such a groan arose", writes an eyewitness, "as I never heard before and desire I may never hear again".

brought to a handful"[1] of some ninety members. This *Rump* Parliament, as it was called, governed England with an authority which no assembly in England, before or since, has possessed.[2] With no monarchy and no House of Lords to control it—they were both abolished after the king's execution—it could pass what laws it pleased, pursue whatever policy suited it, and it could not be legally dissolved except of its own free will. It entrusted the administration of the country to a Council of State of forty-one, the great majority of which were members of the "Rump", and to various committees, on each of which sat persons with special knowledge of the particular branch of administration committed to it.

The authority of the "Rump" Parliament really rested, of course, on the support of Fairfax, Cromwell, and the New Model Army; and it was chiefly for that reason that it suppressed its enemies with such success. The Extremists first of all seemed formidable after the king's execution. But Cromwell was no Leveller or Fifth-Monarchy man, and he saw the danger of such opinions. "We must break them," he said, "or they will break us", and he suppressed with great energy a mutiny in the New Model Army. Ireland was the next scene of Cromwell's activity. Nearly all parties in that country had combined, after the execution of Charles I, to support his son; how Cromwell conquered Ireland, however, is described elsewhere (p. 429).

Cromwell, the Levellers, and Ireland.

Scotland was to be the next country visited by Cromwell. There were two parties in Scotland. On the one hand, Montrose wanted a rising of pure Royalists to be organized in the Highlands. On the other hand, Argyll wanted Charles II to adopt the Covenant, and to impose Presbyterianism upon all his three kingdoms. Montrose, publicly disowned but secretly encouraged by Charles, did attempt to raise the Highlands. But he was beaten by Leslie, captured, and hanged in his "red scarlet coat" in the Grassmarket at Edinburgh (May,

Scotland and Charles II.

[1] The words are Cromwell's.

[2] Of course the "Rump" had no claim whatsoever to be considered representative of the nation. Neither the towns nor country districts of four counties, of which Lancashire was one, had any representatives at all; Wales had only three, and London one.

1650).[1] Meantime, in the same month that Montrose was executed, Charles agreed to the terms of Argyll; Presbyterianism was to be imposed in the king's dominions, and in all Scottish affairs Charles was to refer to the General Assembly and the Scottish Parliament. Shortly afterwards Charles landed in Scotland.

There ensued a war between England and Scotland. Cromwell, on his return from Ireland, invaded Scotland,[2] but he was outmanœuvred by Leslie, the Scottish commander, and was cornered in the peninsula of *Dunbar*, with no base but his ships. With his army, in his own words, "poor, shattered, hungry, discouraged", and with Leslie secure on the hills and ready to attack if he tried to escape, the outlook for Cromwell was black. But then Leslie, instead of waiting, "shogged"[3] his right wing still further to the right on to the low ground, so that he might hold the road by which Cromwell could escape. In so doing, Leslie's left wing became isolated, whilst his centre, being still up in the hills, was unable to manœuvre easily. Cromwell saw this, and next morning attacked and rolled up the right wing, whilst the rest of the Scottish army, entangled between a hill and a ravine, was helpless. Cromwell lost only twenty men, but the Scots lost three thousand in the battle beside ten thousand prisoners[4] (*September 3, 1650*).

Battle of Dunbar, Sept. 3, 1650.

Cromwell then marched on to Edinburgh, and in 1651 took Perth. His departure, however, towards the north of Scotland, had left the way open to England, and Charles, entering England by Carlisle, reached *Worcester*. Here, however, Cromwell, who had returned south, caught him up, and blocked his way to London. On the anniversary of Dunbar, Cromwell attacked Charles from both sides of the river, and after "as stiff a contest", in Cromwell's

Battle of Worcester, Sept. 3, 1651.

[1] "The leader of warlike men," it has been said, "swift and secret in his onslaught, the poet, the cavalier, the soul of air and fire, the foremost to head a forlorn hope, at last the forsaken victim of a forsaken cause, Montrose is for ever dear to the imagination."

[2] Fairfax refused to command an army against the Scots.

[3] i.e. moved on; the word is Cromwell's.

[4] When the Scots were defeated "the Lord General", said one of Cromwell's captains, "made a halt and sang the hundred and seventeenth Psalm" till his horse could gather for the chase—another instance of his practical piety.

words, "for four or five hours, as ever I have seen", absolutely defeated him (September 3, 1651). Though Charles himself escaped and got eventually to the Continent,[1] yet not one troop of his cavalry or one company of his infantry succeeded in following his example. Worcester decided the Royalist cause up till the Restoration of 1660; though there were numberless Royalist plots, they were never really serious. The battle also destroyed the independence of Scotland. An English army invaded that country, took its strong places, and Monck, who was a general in the army, governed it for the rest of the Commonwealth.[2]

Cromwell and his victorious army were now free to take part in politics. The "Rump" Parliament made reforms too slowly to please them, and they wished it to dissolve, though for some months they allowed it to continue. But when Cromwell found that its members were arranging for a new Parliament, to which they should not only all belong, but should have the power of excluding other members, his patience was exhausted. He came down to the House, "clad in plain black clothes and grey worsted stockings", and lectured its members. Then, with the aid of his soldiers, he fetched the Speaker down from the chair, took away "the bauble", as he called the mace, evicted the members, and locked the doors. According to Cromwell, "there was not so much as the barking of a dog" at this forcible ejection; indeed, all were tired of the "Rump's" rule.

Cromwell and the "Rump" Parliament.

3. The rule of Cromwell, 1653–58

We come now to our *Third Period*, the five and a half years that elapse between the dissolution of the "Rump", in *April, 1653*, and the death of Cromwell, in *September, 1658*. The monarchy, the Extremists, the Irish, the Scottish army, and the

[1] Charles had six weeks' wandering in England, full of adventures, before he finally got across the Channel from Brighton. He had to hide in an oak at one place, and in a "priest's hole", up a chimney, in another. He witnessed in a village the rejoicings at the news which had been received of his own death. In another village the blacksmith said he had not heard that "that rogue, Charles Stuart, had been taken". "If that rogue were taken," answered Charles, "he deserves to be hanged more than the rest for bringing in the Scots."

[2] For the later history of Scotland, see p. 418.

remnants of the Long Parliament had been in turn suppressed. Cromwell and the army, with their Independent opinions, were at last supreme. They had destroyed everything that could rival them, including most of the Constitution. But they were still anxious that their rule should be constitutional, and subject to the control of the English people as expressed in a freely elected Parliament. They wished, as it has been humorously put, to fix a legal wig upon the point of the soldier's sword. Unfortunately for them, however, their rule was not based upon great popular support. Consequently the wig fell off, and the naked sword only was visible. Parliaments were frequently called, but they were bound, unless nominated by the army leaders or purged of hostile elements, to be unmanageable.

Period III: April, 1653–Sept., 1658.

The first experiment of the army was an assembly of persons selected by the Council of Army Officers. This Parliament, known as "the Little" or *Barebones' Parliament*—after the name of one of its members, known as "Praise-God Barebones"[1]—contained many notable Puritans, and it possessed, as the Speaker, the Provost of Eton.[2] But unfortunately this Parliament was too visionary and unpractical. It wished to reduce the law into the "bigness of a pocket book", and therefore angered the lawyers; it proposed to find money for the army in a way which the army thought made the chances of being paid exceedingly remote. Finally, its projects with regard to the religious system raised such a hornet's nest that Cromwell was only too thankful when the moderate element in the Assembly, by getting up early one morning, before their opponents were ready, carried a motion[3] that the Assembly should surrender its power to Cromwell, and dissolve (December, 1653).

Barebones' Parliament.

The next experiment was a new Constitution, drawn up by

[1] Otherwise "Barbon". He was a leather-seller of Fleet Street, and after the Restoration his windows were on more than one occasion the subject of attention from the youth of that neighbourhood.

[2] His name was Rouse, and he is traditionally supposed to have planted the elms in the playing fields of Eton.

[3] As a matter of fact, Provost Rouse left the chair without stopping to hear the opponents of the motion, or actually putting it to the vote; and then he and the supporters of the motion walked off to Whitehall and gave up their powers.

Ireton, who was Cromwell's son-in-law, and a distinguished officer. It was known as the *Instrument of Government.* Cromwell was to be called Protector, and to have the executive power and a fixed sum for the purposes of government. Parliament, consisting of one House, was to possess the legislative power. But Parliament was controlled by the Protector, because he alone could summon it, he could veto any of its acts which were contrary to the principles of the new Constitution, and could dissolve it after it had sat five months. Cromwell himself was to be controlled, to a certain extent, by a Council of State which was created under the Instrument, and by the fact that, if he wanted additional money over and above the fixed sum allowed him, Parliament alone could grant it.[1]

The Instrument of Government.

There now begins what is called *the Protectorate* in English history. The *First Protectorate Parliament* met in *1654*, and began by discussing the new Constitution. One hundred of its members had therefore to be excluded. The members that were left, however, evinced a desire to reduce the army and cut down its expenses. Moreover, they proposed to abolish toleration by drawing up a list of "damnable heresies", to which no one was to adhere, and of twenty "articles of faith", which no one was to dispute. Cromwell had to wait for five months under the Constitution, but he interpreted the month to be "lunar" and not "calendar", and dissolved this intolerant Parliament as soon as he could.

First Protectorate Parliament, 1654.

After the dissolution Cromwell tried for a time a new experiment in local government. England was divided into eleven districts, each under an official called a "Major-general", whose business it was to supervise the militia, to prevent Royalist plots, and to stimulate the local authorities in enforcing the various laws relating to conduct and morality which had recently been passed. Nothing made the Puritan rule so unpopular as this "poor little invention", as Cromwell called it, for people resented it as the act of a military despotism.

The Major-generals.

[1] In some respects Cromwell's powers were very similar to those possessed by the President of the United States to-day.

Then, in the summer of *1656*, Cromwell called another Parliament—the *Second Protectorate Parliament.* One hundred of its members were excluded from taking their seats as a precautionary measure. The remainder showed their belief in Cromwell by presenting to him a new Constitution known as the *Humble Petition and Advice*, under which the Council of State was to be abolished, Cromwell was to be made king and given larger powers, and a second House was to be created. Cromwell hesitated long over his new title. It was, he said, to him personally "but a feather in his cap", but there were great practical advantages in it, if only because, as one member said, the kingship was bounded "like an acre of land", and people would understand its powers. The army was, however, opposed to the title, and Cromwell therefore refused it, whilst accepting the other changes.

Second Protectorate Parliament, 1656–8.

The Second Protectorate Parliament then met again in its reformed condition; but many of Cromwell's supporters in the Lower House had been transferred to the new upper one, whilst the hundred members who had been excluded returned to the Lower House. Hence difficulties at once recurred; the Lower House discussed the functions and composition of the Upper House, and even the powers of the Protector himself; and in February, *1658*, Parliament was dissolved. Seven months later, on September 3,[1] Cromwell died, with the problem of how to combine popular control with his own rule still unsolved.

Death of Cromwell, Sept. 3, 1658.

4. Events leading to Restoration, 1658–60

Then follows the *Fourth Period*—a year and a half of great complexity, between *1658* and *1660*. "There is not a dog that wags his tongue, so great a calm are we in", wrote one man, when Richard, Cromwell's son, was made Protector. The calm was not to continue for long. A new Parliament met; the officers of the army quarrelled with it; and Richard, after trying to mediate, threw in his lot with the officers, and dissolved it. A fortnight later

Period IV: Sept., 1658–May, 1660. The Army and Parliament.

[1] The anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester.

Richard resigned.[1] The army decided to recall the "Rump". The "Rump"—consisting now of some sixty or seventy members—wanted to limit the powers of the new commander-in-chief, and to provide that in future all commissions in the army should be signed by the Speaker, and therefore to a certain extent be controlled by him. Moreover, they threatened the freedom of conscience so dear to the army. Eventually "Honest John" Lambert, the darling of the soldiers, a brave and generous if unstable man, surrounded the House and stopped the entrance of members, and once again the army was triumphant.

But then another general appeared, determined, with the aid of a large army and £70,000 in his treasury, to put an end to what he called the "intolerable slavery of sword government", and to call a free Parliament. This was the Commander-in-chief in Scotland, George Monck. On December 8, 1659, he reached Coldstream; Lambert, who had gone north to meet him, found his army dwindling away, and was unable to do anything. Marching to London, Monck restored the members of the Long Parliament, including those originally evicted by Pride's Purge, but only so that they might make arrangements for a new and free Parliament being called. When these arrangements were completed, the elections took place amid great excitement; and a vast majority came back in favour of the restoration of the Stuarts. Monck had already suggested to Charles what proposals it was advisable for him to make. Charles adopted them in a Declaration which he issued to the English people from Breda. The Declaration was received with enthusiasm, and on May 29, 1660, Charles re-entered London, "the ways strewed with flowers, the bells ringing, the streets hung with tapestry, and the fountains running with wine". The Commonwealth was at an end.

Monck and the Restoration.

The rule of Cromwell and the Commonwealth had certainly not been above criticism. It is quite arguable to say that individual liberty and the right of free speech were threatened to a greater degree under the Commonwealth than during the

[1] At the Restoration Cromwell had to fly to the Continent. He came back to England twenty years later, and died in 1712. "Gentle and virtuous, but became not greatness" is the verdict passed upon him by a contemporary.

reign of Charles I. Moreover, though taxation was three times heavier than it was during Charles I's reign, the Commonwealth had a deficit of half a million yearly. Again, if the Commonwealth showed toleration to Jews and Quakers, its treatment, if not of Anglicans, at all events of Roman Catholics, might be considered severe. And of course it is easy enough to scoff at the "rule of the saints by the sword", and ridicule their attempts to make men more virtuous by passing Acts against swearing and duelling, horse-racing, cock-fighting, and bear-baiting, and by trying to enforce more strictly the keeping of the Sabbath. Yet, for all that, there was much to admire. The Commonwealth government was, it has been said, a more tolerant one than any which had existed since the time of the Reformation. It maintained good order, and did, as a matter of fact, succeed in suppressing some amusements of a highly undesirable character. Above all, its Foreign Policy raised England from the low position it had reached in the time of the Stuarts, whilst it has been said that no previous Government had such imperial instincts as Cromwell's; but we must leave the consideration of these two subjects till the next chapter.

The rule of the Commonwealth.

XXX. Foreign Policy, 1649-88, and the Beginnings of Greater Britain, 1603-88

England, it has been said, was more warlike during the period of the Commonwealth than she had been at any other time since the Hundred Years' War with France. But, as we have seen, till the end of 1651 the military energies of the Commonwealth Government were occupied in fighting its Royalist foes. Cromwell, on land, was winning Dunbar and Worcester; Blake, on sea, was sweeping Royalist privateers from the Channel and the Mediterranean, and forcing the colonies to recognize the rule of the Republic. In 1652, however, the Commonwealth was

free to interfere with its Continental neighbours; and with the best army in Europe, composed of some forty thousand men, and a fleet to which it added two hundred and seven ships, its interference proved to be of a decisive character.

The causes of Dutch War, 1652.

Holland was England's first foe. It might have been expected that these two States, being both Republics and both Protestant, would have combined.[1] But England and Holland were keen commercial rivals. "We are fighting", said a member of the Long Parliament, "for the fairest mistress in the world—trade." Holland had, so far, been the conqueror. The Dutch had shut the English out from trade in the East Indies. They had almost acquired a monopoly of the carrying trade; they were, it was said, "the wagoners of all seas". In the autumn of 1651, however, the "Rump" Parliament passed a Navigation Act, by which goods coming to England were to be carried in English ships, or in ships belonging to the country from which the goods came.[2] If ever an Act, it has been said, did make a nation great, it was this one; and the enormous development of English shipping in the years that follow must be largely attributed to its influence. But in fostering English shipping this Act struck a heavy blow at the Dutch. Then other questions arose between the two nations. An informal "sort of a war" was going on between the English and French on sea, and England claimed to seize French goods on Dutch ships, a claim which the Dutch resisted. Finally, there was a question of honour; the English held that Dutch ships should lower their flag to English men-of-war in the Channel, and the Dutch were naturally averse to recognizing such a right. Over this point came a collision between the Dutch and English fleets near Dover, and then the war began (May, 1652).

In the war that ensued the English had the advantage of more solidly built and more heavily armed ships, and, though they were without such a great tactician as the Dutch possessed in Tromp, they had in Blake a commander who combined great

[1] A suggestion, indeed, for a political union was actually put forward by England, but it came to nothing.

[2] This policy was not, however, a new one, for Navigation Acts of one sort or another had been passed ever since the reign of Richard II, but they had not been effectively carried out.

care in the organization of his fleet with brilliant daring in action. The war, which lasted from 1652–4, was crowded with sea battles. Tromp defeated Blake off Dungeness in November, 1652, and obtained command of the Channel.[1] But in the following February, 1653, Blake regained the command after a three days' battle off Portland. The English ships were able to inflict great damage upon Holland's extensive commerce. In the course of the war no less than one thousand four hundred Dutch ships were captured, including one hundred and twenty men-of-war, and towards its close no Dutch merchantman could show itself in the Channel.

Incidents of war, 1652-4.

Meanwhile, during the course of the war, Cromwell had become Protector (December, 1653). One great aim, of course, of Cromwell's foreign policy was to prevent the restoration of the Stuarts by foreign aid. His other two aims were to maintain and to extend, first, the Protestant religion, and then English commerce. Here Cromwell showed that intense religious feeling, combined with practical common sense, which has been noticed already. Cromwell at first pursued a policy of peace, and sought alliance with the Protestant powers. In April, 1654, the Dutch war came to an end. The Dutch agreed to salute our flag in British seas and to expel Royalists from their country, whilst they tacitly acquiesced in the Navigation Act. Treaties of alliance followed with Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal, which gave England important commercial concessions.

Cromwell's alliances, 1654.

Cromwell's energy soon found a fresh opportunity for action. The Thirty Years' War had ended in Germany in 1648, but war still lingered on between Spain and France. Each of these powers was anxious to secure his support. But Cromwell's terms were high. He proposed to Spain that Englishmen should have liberty for the exercise of their religion in the Spanish dominions, and freedom of trade with the Spanish West Indies. "This is to ask for my master's two eyes", was the reply of the astonished Spanish ambassador.

The expedition to the West Indies, 1655.

[1] It was after this battle that Tromp was said to have put a broom at his masthead to show that he had swept the English off the sea; but such a story of so modest a man as Tromp is probably untrue.

Then Cromwell determined upon a colonial war with Spain. An expedition was sent to capture Hispaniola in the Spanish West Indies (1655).[1] But the attack upon that island was a disastrous failure. Jamaica, however, was captured, and Cromwell proceeded to colonize it with characteristic vigour.

The expedition to the West Indies by no means exhausted Cromwell's activity in 1655. Blake was sent to the Mediterranean on a cruise; he made a fine attack on Tunis, whose Bey had refused to give up some English prisoners, but the voyage is chiefly interesting as marking the beginning of England's activity in the Mediterranean Sea. In the same year some horrible atrocities committed by the Duke of Savoy, with the connivance of the French, on the Protestants who lived in the Vaudois valleys in Savoy, aroused angry protests from Cromwell.[2] The French king, therefore, anxious to secure Cromwell's alliance, put pressure upon the duke to stop the massacres, and Cromwell was regarded throughout Europe as the saviour of the Protestants.

Shortly after this successful intervention Cromwell made a treaty with France, and war was formally declared between England and Spain in the beginning of 1656. The year 1657 saw a great naval success. The English fleet, under Blake, found the Spanish treasure fleet at Santa Cruz, protected by the forts. Entering the harbour with the flowing tide, Blake succeeded, before he retired with the ebb tide, in sinking, blowing up, or burning every Spanish ship.[3] The following year (1658) it was the turn of the soldiers. The French and English determined to besiege Dunkirk, the possession of which would give the English "a bridle for the Dutch and a door into the Continent". Six thousand of the New Model Army combined with the French. They took the chief part in a battle waged near the fort, and earned for themselves the nickname of "the Immortals". Shortly after this Dunkirk fell. But then Cromwell died, and in the

The attack at Santa Cruz, 1657, and capture of Dunkirk, 1658.

[1] Such an expedition would not necessarily in those days involve a formal war between England and Spain in Europe.

[2] See Milton's celebrated Sonnet on "The Late Massacre in Piedmont".

[3] Blake died on his homeward journey on board his ship at the very entrance of Plymouth Sound, August 7, 1657.

confusion which followed nothing more could be done. "Cromwell's greatness at home", said Clarendon, "was a mere shadow of his greatness abroad"; and with this admission from the great Royalist historian we may be content to leave the study of the Commonwealth's foreign policy. The Commonwealth had done something, at all events, to restore the prestige which England had lost in Europe under the first two Stuarts.

England in the period of the Commonwealth had secured a position of great influence in Europe. With the return of the Stuarts, in 1660, she was soon to lose it. Between the restoration of Charles II, in 1660, and the revolution which his brother, James II, brought upon himself, after three years of rule, in 1688, there elapse twenty-eight years. During those years the King of France, Louis XIV, who reigned from 1643–1715, is the central figure in European politics. With the aid of a large revenue, capable ministers, and wonderful generals, he had already secured for the Crown, before the Restoration, absolute power at home and a pre-eminent position in Europe. By the time of the Revolution of 1688 his ambitions and resources were, as we shall see, a menace to every state in Europe.

Position of France under Louis XIV, 1643–1715.

Charles returned to England in 1660 under obligations to no foreign power. But from the first he was attracted towards France. His mother was French; his cousin, Louis XIV, was such a king in France as he would have liked to be in England. Moreover, Charles wanted to foster the commercial welfare of England, and he looked upon Holland, not France, as the rival of the country over which he ruled. And so he married his sister, Henrietta, the only person whom he ever really loved, to the French Duke of Orleans, and he himself married Catherine of Braganza, the daughter of the King of Portugal, with whom Louis XIV was in alliance. Catherine, as her dowry, secured two useful possessions for England—Bombay, which Charles leased to the East India Company for the trivial rent of £10 a year, and Tangier, an important strategic port, which encouraged England to hope that "she might give the law to all the trade of the Mediterranean". Moreover, Charles sold Dunkirk to the French. The sale was un-

Charles II's policy towards France.

popular, but wise; for Dunkirk was expensive to keep up, useless strategically, and the king could not afford to maintain garrisons there as well as at Tangier.

Meantime the commercial ambitions of Holland and England, especially in Africa and the East Indies, led to continual disputes between the ships of the rival nations and to attacks upon each other's commerce.[1] The desire for war grew, and finally war was declared against Holland in 1665. In this war France was nominally in alliance with Holland, though she took no prominent part in the military operations, which were nearly all at sea. The war was interesting not only because of the toughness of the battles, but because of the part played in them by fire ships—the torpedo boats of that time. The king's brother, James, Duke of York, won a great battle off *Lowestoft*, in which, with the loss of one ship and with one thousand casualties, he inflicted on the Dutch a loss of some five thousand men and twelve ships.[2] In the next year (1666) Monck and Rupert, no longer generals on land but "generals at sea", unfortunately separated their fleets, and Monck was defeated in a battle lasting for four days, though his ships behaved well and "fought", it was said, "like a line of cavalry handled according to rule". In 1667 an indelible disgrace was inflicted upon England. Lack of money caused Charles to lay up his ships.[3] The Dutch, taking advantage of this, sailed up the Medway as far as Gravesend, and captured or destroyed sixteen ships. England was lucky to be able, only six weeks later, to make a peace at *Breda*, by which she obtained, in North America, New Jersey and New Amsterdam—afterwards called, in honour of the duke, New York.

Second Dutch War, 1665-7.

Barely a year later (1668) the Peace of Breda developed into a Triple Alliance of England, Holland, and Sweden, with the object of opposing Louis XIV. The Alliance was a popular one in England, but there is reason to suppose that Charles

[1] Two English companies—the Turkish Company and the East India Company—estimated their losses, in consequence of Dutch depredations, at £700,000.

[2] After the battle James went to bed, and, as a consequence of misunderstood orders, the Dutch fleet was not pursued.

[3] No doubt Charles's personal extravagance was partly responsible for the lack of money, but the chief reason was that the war cost much more than was anticipated, while the taxes which Parliament had voted brought in a good deal less.

had only consented to it in order later to bring upon the Dutch[1] the wrath of the French king. At all events, within a week of the formation of the Alliance, he was intriguing with Louis XIV, and long negotiations, in which the Duchess of Orleans took a prominent part, finally ended in the disgraceful *Treaty of Dover* (1670). By that treaty, first, Holland was to be partitioned, and Charles, in return for his military support, was to receive a subsidy; secondly, Charles was to declare himself a Roman Catholic "at a convenient opportunity", and, on making the declaration, was to receive from Louis an additional grant of money, and, if necessary, a force of soldiers, in order to be able to repress any disturbance that might occur. Of this latter portion of the treaty only two ministers[2] in England were informed; but, in order to deceive the other ministers and the nation, a "sham treaty" was drawn up, which had reference only to the proposed war with the Dutch. With the Treaty of Dover the creditable portion of Charles's foreign policy terminates. In the war which followed in 1672 the Dutch made an heroic resistance. They cut their dykes and surrendered part of their land to the sea, in order to preserve it from the French; and their fleet, though defeated off *Southwold Bay*, more than held its own in the latter portion of the war. In 1674 England was glad to make peace. The power of Holland, however, was broken, and gradually a large portion of her trade fell into English hands.

The Treaty of Dover, 1670, and Third Dutch War, 1672–4.

From 1674 to 1688 England ceases to be of importance in foreign affairs. Occasionally the king showed some independence of France, as, in 1677, when the Princess Mary, the daughter of the Duke of York, married William of Orange, the ruler of Holland. But for the greater part of the time the English kings were the pensioners of Louis XIV. That monarch paid Charles II large sums of money for the prorogation of Parliament, and when he seemed to be too independent he bribed the Opposition in Parliament instead. Finally, Charles, a year before he died, gave up Tangier in order to please

Foreign policy, 1674–88.

[1] Charles disliked the Dutch; "stinking Dutchmen" he was once rude enough to call them.

[2] Clifford and Arlington, both Roman Catholics, and both members of the "Cabal" ministry (p. 412).

Louis XIV. When James II came to the throne, in 1685, the French ambassador was the chief supporter of his disastrous policy. Meantime Louis XIV's powers and ambitions were extending, and when the Revolution of 1688 came, his ascendancy was threatening all Europe.

From the history of English foreign policy we may turn to the history of the British Empire in the seventeenth century, for the two are not disconnected. The British Empire, when James I ascended the throne in 1603, was non-existent. Attempts had been made to colonize Virginia, but they had failed; the East India Company had been formed in 1600 for the promotion of trade with the East, but its first expedition had not returned from the East Indies when Elizabeth died.[1] With the Stuarts, however, the beginnings of Empire came, and the seventeenth century is, therefore, from an imperial as well as from a domestic point of view, a very important one. And it is worth pointing out that the successful development of this Empire in the seventeenth century was largely due to private enterprise.

Beginnings of Empire, 1603–88.

We may turn to affairs in the East first. It was under Portuguese auspices that the route to India and the Far East by the Cape of Good Hope had been discovered in 1502, and during the sixteenth century Portugal had been successful in preserving a monopoly of the Eastern trade for her own merchants.[2] But in the seventeenth century both the Dutch and English nations determined to secure some share in that trade. In the Far East the Dutch proved themselves persistent and intrepid traders. The Dutch East India Company conquered the Spice Islands from the Portuguese, and established their own supremacy. The English East India Company also endeavoured to trade in the Far East, but the Dutch Company was wealthier and stronger. Disputes between Dutch and English occurred, and culminated in the massacre at *Amboyna* (1623), when ten Englishmen were executed on a trumped-up charge of conspiring with some Japanese soldiers

Dutch supremacy in Far East.

[1] It returned six months after James's accession with one million pounds of pepper.

[2] A few Englishmen did, however, succeed in reaching India in the reign of Elizabeth. The first Englishman known to have visited India was a Jesuit, Stephens by name, in 1579.

against the Dutch governor of that place.[1] Soon after this the English practically gave up their attempts to compete with the Dutch for trade in the Far East, and they did not re-enter the contest till the close of the eighteenth century.

On the mainland of India the English East India Company met with greater success. It had to encounter the hostility of the Portuguese, but, despite that, it managed to prosper. In 1612 it established its first depot for goods, or "factory", as it was called, at *Surat*, on the west coast of India.[2] Others followed at *Madras* (1639), *Bombay* (1661), and *Calcutta* (1690). At the close of the seventeenth century a rival company to the East India Company was started in England; but the two companies amalgamated in 1709, and the united company quickly developed trade. So far the object of the English in India had been merely the extension of trade; how the East India Company in later years obtained an empire in India which stretched from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas must be explained in a later chapter.

English "factories" in India.

Meantime, whilst the English merchants were developing a substantial trade in the East, English colonists had built up many settlements in the West. The first successful attempt was made in *Virginia*. In May, 1607, some hundred emigrants landed in Chesapeake Bay and founded the settlement of Jamestown. But the colony had great difficulties at first, though, when the adventurous Captain John Smith[3] was for a short time President in 1608, things progressed more favourably. The colony did not, however, really prosper until the arrival of Lord De la Warr in 1610. His short governorship

Foundation of Virginia, 1607.

[1] No reparation was extracted from the Dutch for this flagrant injustice for thirty-one years; then Cromwell insisted on a large money indemnity being paid to the English company and to the relatives of the executed men.

[2] Leave would not have been obtained from the native ruler for this factory to be established but for the fact that Captain Thomas Best had won a great reputation for the English in that same year by defeating, on four successive occasions, an overwhelming force of Portuguese ships.

[3] If his autobiography may be believed, John Smith had fought against the Spaniards in the Low Countries and the Turks in Hungary. He had been thrown overboard by the crew of a French ship in a storm because he was considered a Huguenot. Saved by another ship, he had again fought against the Turks, and defeated three Turkish champions in single combat. Subsequently he was taken prisoner and sold as a slave; but he killed his master, a Turkish pasha, made his escape, and returned to England.

was the turning-point in the early history of Virginia, and the colonists soon received large reinforcements in numbers from the mother country.

Then, in 1620, came the foundation of the Puritan colonies farther north. Many Puritans had fled, during Elizabeth's reign, from England in consequence of persecution, and settled in Holland. One hundred of these men got leave from James to found an English colony in America. Returning to England, the "Pilgrim Fathers", as they came to be called, started from Plymouth on board the *Mayflower*, landed in Cape Cod Harbour, and founded the little settlement of New Plymouth. The misgovernment and intolerance of Charles led to their numbers being largely augmented before long; indeed, it is said that nearly twenty thousand colonists sailed from Old to New England, as the group of the more northern colonies was called, between the accession of Charles I and the meeting of the Long Parliament in 1640.[1] And so the northern colonies, of which *Massachusetts* became far the most important, were gradually formed.

The Pilgrim Fathers, 1620.

The reign of Charles II proved an extremely important one in the history of our American colonies. For one thing, *North and South Carolina* were founded. But, above all, the territories of the English in America became continuous. The Dutch had colonized the territory which lay between the northern and southern settlements of the English. In the Dutch war of 1665, however, an expedition was sent, and these colonies were captured; and in the subsequent peace the Dutch formally relinquished them. New Amsterdam became *New York*, and the colonies of *New Jersey*, *Delaware*, and *Pennsylvania* were established.

Development of Colonies under Charles II.

Of the relations between England and her American colonies we shall have something to say later on; it is sufficient to say here that to most of them an English governor was sent out, and that the degree of independence enjoyed by each colony varied. But, like all

Condition of American Colonies.

[1] There is a story, though there is no reliable evidence to support it, that in 1636 Cromwell and John Hampden, despairing of their country, took their passage to America, but that the vessel was stopped by an order in Council.

mother countries at that time, England regarded her colonies as a source of wealth, and the colonial trade was carefully regulated for the benefit of English merchants. As to the character of the colonies themselves, there were striking differences between them. The "New England" colonists[1] were Puritans by religion, inclined to be democratic in government, and they were hard-working, keen, if somewhat austere men. The southern colonies[2] were more aristocratic, and in them the Church of England was established by law. Here the climate was hot, and the chief products were tobacco and rice, the cultivation of which was worked by slaves. The colonists were owners of plantations, many of them being very large plantations. The central colonies[3] were composed of somewhat heterogeneous elements, and every variety of race and religion might be found in one or other of them. With such differences between these various groups, it was not likely that the colonies would find combination an easy matter, and indeed there were continual disputes, chiefly about boundaries, between them. Unity was not to come till the oppression of the mother country—or what was considered by the colonists to be oppression—roused the colonies to common action in 1775; and less than a century after this the underlying differences between the North and the South were to produce the American Civil War of 1861.

Other parts of Empire.

Of the other parts of our Empire developed or acquired in the seventeenth century we must say little. In the West Indies the small island of Barbados was successfully colonized in 1626.[4] The resources of Jamaica, captured by Cromwell in 1655, were quickly developed, and this island was also the home of the Buccaneers[5] who preyed upon Spanish commerce in the Caribbean Sea. Meantime, settlements were made in Newfoundland and the Bahamas, whilst various points on the West African coast were secured, and in 1651 St. Helena was occupied by the East India Company.

[1] Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island.

[2] i.e. Virginia, Maryland, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, which was founded in 1752.

[3] i.e. New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware.

[4] Barbados was stoutly Royalist, and held out against the Commonwealth until 1652.

[5] The most famous of these is perhaps Captain Dampier.

XXXI. Domestic Affairs, 1660-88, in England and Scotland

1. England

We must now trace the internal history of the twenty-eight years that elapse between the Restoration of 1660 and the Revolution of 1688. Something may be said first of the two kings, of Charles II, who reigned till 1685, and of his brother, James II, who reigned till 1688.

With the Restoration we are conscious of a lowering in the ideals of the nation. Both the rival parties in the previous troubles had produced fine personalities, men actuated by lofty motives, and exhibiting nobility of character. With the Restoration we begin, it has been said, the life of modern England, and the Age of Heroics gives way to the Age of Common Sense. Charles was a king in keeping with such an epoch. Since the age of fifteen he had been, but for the brief campaign in 1651, an exile from his country, and now he entered London, as king, in 1660 on his thirtieth birthday. He had the Englishman's love of exercise—he was devoted to tennis[1] and hunting, and would often walk from Whitehall to Hampton Court. But in matters of business he was indolent, and his frivolity was incurable. "Naturally I am more lazy than I ought to be", was his own frank confession; and he was engaged in chasing a poor moth, so it is said, whilst the Dutch guns were heard roaring in the Thames. He was thoroughly selfish and unprincipled, and prepared to sacrifice religion, friends, or ministers, if he found such a course the more convenient for his own interests. Moreover, his life in exile had been a very demoralizing one for him, and when he returned to England his Court was notorious for its licence and corruption, and for the evil influence exercised by women such as Lady Castlemaine and the Duchess of Portsmouth. Finally, he was at heart a Catholic, but was too prudent in politics, or too lukewarm in faith, to venture to declare himself.

Characters of Charles II and James II.

[1] He used to play in the summer at 5 o'clock in the morning.

James's own life was not above reproach, but in some respects he was a better man than Charles. In his brother's reign, James earned as a soldier the praise of a French general, and as a sailor he fought well at sea and administered the navy with tolerable efficiency at Whitehall. He possessed energy and sincerity, and he proved himself a kind master and father. Yet Charles had many more interests than James in Nature, in Science[1], and in Art. He was more good-humoured, and he had a gift of wit which was denied to James. Moreover, he was a far abler man. "The king", said one observer, "could see things if he would; the Duke (i.e. James, then Duke of York) would see things if he could". James was a bigot, a man given to extremes in all things. He was an ardent Roman Catholic, and those who did not agree with him must be heretics; he was a believer in absolute monarchy, and those who opposed him were rebels. Charles, though of the same opinions, and not without a certain persistency in endeavouring to support them, was more pliable, more tactful, content to bide his time, and determined above all things "not to go on his travels again". James, perhaps, succeeded to a more difficult situation, but the differences in their respective characters largely account for the fact that whilst Charles reigned for twenty-five years and found himself in a stronger position at the end of his rule than he was at its beginning, James's reign came to an abrupt conclusion in less than four years.

Settlement of the kingdom, 1660–1.

Charles had made four promises in his *Declaration* signed at *Breda* before his return to England, the performance of these promises, however, being conditional upon the consent of Parliament. *First*, *Arrears of pay* were promised to the soldiers. These were paid, and the new Model Army, with the exception of a regiment known as the Coldstream Guards, was disbanded. *Secondly*, Charles had promised a *general amnesty*. Charles himself was not revengeful, and was quite willing to forgive and to forget. Parliament, however, in the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion which it passed made many exceptions. Thirteen regicides (i.e. those who had signed the death warrant of Charles I) were executed and twenty-five persons were imprisoned for life, whilst Cromwell's body was

[1] The Royal Society was founded in Charles II's time.

barbarously dug up, hanged at Tyburn, and buried under the gallows.[1]

Thirdly, Charles had promised *security of tenure* to those who had obtained land under the Commonwealth. The land question proved a very complicated one. Eventually it was settled that all lands belonging to the Church and the Crown, and all lands which had been confiscated by the Commonwealth Government, should be returned to their previous owners, whilst the private sales of land held good, though they had been often made in order to pay the heavy fines inflicted upon recalcitrant Royalists by the Commonwealth. It was a compromise which pleased neither party and inflicted hardship on both; but perhaps this could hardly be avoided.

So far matters had been settled by the Convention Parliament, but this Parliament found itself unable to come to an agreement over the *fourth* promise of Charles—the *promise of liberty of conscience.* Charles had tried to effect a compromise through a conference between leading ecclesiastics; but the attempt was a failure, and it was left to a new Parliament to deal with the question. That Parliament is known in history as the Cavalier Parliament, and it lasted from 1661 to 1679. It was remarkable during the first few years of its existence for its exuberant Royalism; indeed, it was more Royalist, so the saying went, than the king himself.

The Cavalier Parliament, 1661–79.

On the religious question the Cavalier Parliament proved itself to be more Anglican than even the ordinary High Churchman, and between 1661 and 1665 four Acts were passed against the Puritans.

The Clarendon Code, 1661–5.

By the first of these Acts, the *Corporation Act*, no one could be a member of the municipal bodies which governed the towns and controlled the election of Members of Parliament unless he took an oath denying the lawfulness, under any pretext whatever, of taking up arms against the king, and received the Communion according to the rites of the Church of England. This Act sought to deprive the Puritans of their hold upon the towns and the House of Commons. By the *Act of Uniformity* every clergyman and schoolmaster was obliged to take

[1] The site is in Connaught Square.

a similar oath of non-resistance and declare his "unfeigned consent and assent" to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer, in which six hundred alterations had just been made, of a trivial character mostly, it is true, but in an anti-Puritan direction. No less than two thousand clergymen refused to conform to this Act, and were deprived of their livings. By the *Five-Mile Act* these two thousand dispossessed clergymen were not allowed to come within five miles of their former livings or of any corporate town unless they took the non-resistance oath imposed by the Corporation Act, and promised not "to endeavour at any time any alteration of government either in church or state". By the *Conventicle Act* religious meetings —other than those of the Church of England—were forbidden, under penalty of imprisonment for the first, and transportation for the third, offence. By these Acts, sometimes known as the *Clarendon Code* because Clarendon was the chief minister at the time, the final severance between the Church of England and the more advanced Puritans was completed. The rivalry between the Church of England and the Nonconformist bodies began—and it is not yet ended.

The Amnesty, the Land, and the Religious Questions had all been settled, at least temporarily, but one problem still remained which no party in the State had hitherto satisfactorily solved—how were the powers of the Monarchy and the Parliament to be harmonized? It might appear, at first sight, that the Monarchy, at the Restoration, recovered all its old authority. The king, as before, chose his own ministers and conducted the home and foreign policy of the country. Though feudal dues were abolished, the king was granted by Parliament a revenue for life from customs and excise. In one respect, indeed, Charles was more powerful than his predecessors in that he had a small standing army of some five thousand men, which was increased as the reign progressed.[1]

Powers of the Crown after 1660.

[1] The "New Model" soldiers composed a regiment of foot (the Coldstream) and a regiment of horse (the Blues—so called from their uniforms); besides these there was the regiment of Grenadiers, composed chiefly of Cavaliers, and two troops of Life Guards, whilst a troop of horse and a regiment of foot, known respectively in later years as the Royal Dragoons and the Queen's Regiment, were required for the defence of Tangier.

But, in reality, the king was not in his old position of power. The arbitrary courts, such as the Star Chamber, were no longer in existence. The Restoration, it has been said, was not only a restoration of the Monarchy but of the Parliament as well, and the wishes of that Parliament could no longer be ignored. "The King of France", said a shrewd observer, "can make his subjects march as he pleases; but the King of England must march with his people." Moreover, in 1667 the Parliament made a great advance; it secured that additional grants of money to the Crown should be appropriated for particular objects, and that a Parliamentary audit should be made to ensure that the money was so expended.

The Ministry of Clarendon, 1660–7.

During the first seven years of Charles's reign (*1660–7*), *Lord Clarendon*, the author of the famous *History of the Rebellion*, was the chief minister; indeed he had such influence that Charles, a contemporary said, was but "half a king" whilst he was in power. As Edward Hyde, Clarendon had been a member of the Long Parliament, and had approved of its measures until the Grand Remonstrance was brought forward. He was perhaps too intolerant a High Churchman, as the code associated with his name shows; but he was moderate in politics, upright and hard-working, and his great object was to establish a balance of power as between King and Parliament. Partly in consequence of his very moderation, he became in time unpopular with all classes. The king got tired of his lectures; the courtiers sneered at his morality; the Royalists disliked him for his supposed leniency to the Puritans over the amnesty and the land questions; whilst the Nonconformists hated him for his code. Moreover, the marriage of his daughter, Anne Hyde, with James, Duke of York, the king's brother, made him appear self-seeking; and the sale of Dunkirk to France, for which Louis XIV, the French king, was said to have bribed him,[1] caused him to be accused of corruption.

The Royal Scots and the Buffs were also created in Charles II's reign, the one being recruited from Scotsmen who had fought for the King of France, and the other from those who had served under the banner of Holland. The Scots Greys were also formed in Charles II's reign.

[1] According to Pepys, the Diarist, the common people called the great house which Clarendon was building for himself, in Piccadilly, Dunkirk House, "from their opinion of his having a good bribe for the selling of that towne".

Clarendon's unpopularity was increased by two disasters for which he was in no way responsible. The Great Plague of 1665 killed one-fifth of the population of London,[1] besides raging in the provinces. The Great Fire in the following year swept away two-thirds of London's houses, and not far short of a hundred of its churches, including St. Paul's; it was indeed fortunate for England that she had Sir Christopher Wren to rebuild so many of them.[2] Finally, in 1667, the whole nation held Clarendon responsible for the appearance of the Dutch fleet up the Thames. And so Clarendon was dismissed by the king, was impeached by Parliament, and retired into exile.

With Clarendon's fall, Charles directed his own policy to a great extent. For the next five years (*1667–73*) his chief ministers were five in number, and are known from the initial letters of their names as the *Cabal* Ministry. Two of them, Clifford and Arlington, were Roman Catholics. Buckingham, the third member of the group, was "everything by turns, and nothing long"; in the fickleness of his opinions, the changeableness of his occupations, and the immorality of his life he was highly characteristic of that epoch. The fourth, Ashley Cooper, afterwards Lord Shaftesbury, was an old Cromwellian and a person who was continually changing sides, in every case ostensibly with the best motives, but always also at the right moment for himself. He was undoubtedly a very able statesman and "a daring pilot in extremity"; but he was also an extremely ambitious one, "resolved to ruin or to rule the State".[3] He was in favour of toleration for the Nonconformists, and a strong supporter of the war against the Dutch. Lauderdale, the last of the five, and perhaps the wickedest, governed Scotland.

The Cabal Ministry, 1667–73.

The Cabal, however, was in no respect like a modern Cabinet. Its members were not of the same opinions; they had no leader; and they were not consulted together. It was during the existence of the Cabal that there came the Triple Alliance, the secret Treaty of Dover—of which only Clifford and Arlington knew—and the Second Dutch War (401). Just before the Dutch War

[1] For four months previous to the arrival of the Plague there had been no rain, which made the capital very insanitary.

[2] Wren built St. Paul's and fifty-two churches in London.

[3] See Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel.*

began, Charles, in accordance with his agreement with Louis XIV, tried to secure toleration for Roman Catholics, and incidentally for Dissenters as well, by issuing what was called a *Declaration of Indulgence*, suspending the penal laws against Roman Catholics and Dissenters (*1672*). But Parliament objected, and Charles had not only to withdraw the Declaration, but to agree to a *Test Act* by which no one was to hold any office of State who refused to take the sacrament according to the Church of England (1673). This Act caused the Duke of York to retire from the Admiralty, and Clifford and Arlington to retire from the Ministry. Charles then dismissed Shaftesbury, and the Cabal Ministry came to an end (1673).

The Declaration of Indulgence, 1672, and the Test Act, 1673.

For the next few years (*1673–8*) Charles's chief minister was *Danby*, who was an Anglican in religion, and the king gave up, for the time, his attempts to restore Roman Catholicism in England. These years are a maze of intrigues. The Cavalier Parliament was getting restive. Shaftesbury, on being dismissed by the king, had at once begun to organize an opposition in both Houses, which soon became formidable. Meantime the French king was at one time subsidizing Charles in order to get Parliament prorogued, and at another trying to bribe the Opposition to oppose the king. The nation was nervous and uneasy. Then an event happened which made it panic-stricken.

Ministry of Danby, 1673–8.

In the autumn of 1678 a man called Titus Oates made a statement to a London magistrate declaring the existence of a *Popish plot*, the objects of which were to murder the king, to put the Duke of York in his place and to bring a French army into England. Shortly afterwards the magistrate was found dead, having been obviously murdered. At once the nation, always in dread of Popish plots, took alarm, and a panic began. Every word of Titus Oates was believed, though he was really a thorough scoundrel.[1] Other informers sprang up in every direction; and Roman Catholics were tried and executed on the flimsiest evidence. Protestants carried flails

The Popish Plot, 1678.

[1] He had been expelled successively from his school, the Navy, and two Jesuit Colleges, besides having had writs issued against him on two occasions for perjury.

to protect themselves from imaginary Roman Catholic assaults, whilst the Houses of Parliament without one dissentient declared a "damnable and hellish plot" to be in existence. Of course there was in a sense a plot—in which Charles himself was implicated by the Treaty of Dover—to restore Catholicism in England, but the details of this particular plot were a pure fabrication. Shaftesbury and the Opposition, however, made unscrupulous use of the plot. For they were anxious to divert the succession from Charles II's brother James to an illegitimate son of the king's, known as the Duke of Monmouth; and they hoped that this proposal would, in consequence of the alleged plot, meet with much popular support.

In the same autumn (1678) some negotiations which Danby had, by Charles's command, undertaken for the supply of money from the French king were discovered, and Danby was impeached. Charles, to save him, dissolved the Cavalier Parliament, which had sat since 1661 (January, 1679). There followed in a space of two years three short Parliaments (1679–81). The first of these insisted upon committing Danby to the Tower despite the king's pardon, thereby developing the principle of the responsibility of ministers. It also passed, through Shaftesbury's influence, a very important *Habeas Corpus Act*, the object of which was to ensure that a man who was imprisoned should be brought up for trial as soon as possible.

Three short Parliaments, 1679–80.

In all three of these short Parliaments, however, the chief topic was the Bill for excluding James from the succession. Shaftesbury and the Opposition pressed for the succession of the Duke of Monmouth, who, they held, was a legitimate son of Charles, the marriage certificate of his mother with Charles being secreted (so it was alleged) in a certain "black box". Charles, however, said he would rather see his son hanged than legitimize him. It was during this time that Political Parties were first organized. At first they were known under the names of *Petitioners* and *Abhorrers*, from the fact that one party petitioned for the calling of Parliament, whilst the other expressed their abhorrence of any encroachment on the king's Prerogative; later they came to be called by their respective opponents *Whigs*

The Exclusion Bill.

after the name of certain fanatical Whig Covenanters, and *Tories* after some wild Irish Roman Catholic rebels; and the names are still in use to our own day. The last of the three Parliaments was summoned by the king to meet not in London, where the mob was fiercely hostile to the Court, but at Oxford in Christ Church Hall; and men came armed—so great was the excitement. But it had only lasted a week when Charles dissolved it, and the Exclusion Bill was still unpassed (1681).

A reaction in favour of the king followed the Oxford Parliament. The execution of Lord Stafford, a blameless Roman Catholic peer of over seventy years of age, for alleged complicity in the Popish Plot, made people realize the wildness of the exaggerations which they had hitherto believed. It was felt that the Opposition had gone too far, and there was no desire for another Civil War. Consequently, for the last four years of his reign (*1681–5*) Charles, with the aid of a congenial ministry nicknamed "the Chits", from their youth, was able to persecute his enemies, whilst lavish grants from Louis XIV enabled him to do without a Parliament. Shaftesbury had to flee to Holland and the Duke of Monmouth was banished. The *Ryehouse Plot*—a plot for murdering the king on his way from Newmarket—gave Charles an opportunity of executing, though quite unjustly, Russell and Sidney, both prominent Whigs (1683). The king, also, by means of a writ called *Quo Warranto*, "remodelled" the Charters of London and sixty-five provincial towns, the strongholds of the Whigs, and vested the right of electing Members of Parliament to represent these boroughs in governing bodies nominated by himself. Yet Charles had no wish to play the part of a tyrant; all he wanted was to get free from the control of any other authority, and in this apparently he had completely succeeded before his death, which occurred in February, 1685.

Supremacy of Charles, 1681–5.

James II succeeded without difficulty (*February, 1685*) on his brother's death. People felt that he had been treated hardly over the Exclusion Bill, and he had the support of all moderate people. Parliament, enthusiastically loyal, voted him a large income; and even when the fabricators of the Popish Plot were most barbarously treated—Oates received

Accession of James II, 1685.

three thousand four hundred lashes in three days[1]—it was felt that they had only got what they deserved.

Moreover, the successful crushing of two rebellions strengthened the king's position. *Argyll* in Scotland rose in support of Monmouth; but he could only get some of his own clan, the Campbells, to help him, and he was captured and beheaded. *Monmouth* himself landed in Dorset, and persuaded the country people of that county and of Somerset to join him in large numbers. He tried a night attack upon the king's forces at *Sedgemoor*, which might have been successful but for the fact that an unsuspected and impassable ditch stopped his advance. As it was, the attack failed, and Monmouth was subsequently captured and then executed (July, 1685). The Chief Justice, Jeffreys by name, accompanied by four other judges, was sent down to the West to try the rebels, and, in what is called "the Bloody Assize", hanged over three hundred and transported some eight hundred,[2] thus bringing upon himself a reputation for cruelty which will last as long as history is read.

Monmouth's Rebellion, 1685.

For the first nine months of his reign, till towards the close of 1685, James himself behaved with some moderation. The ease with which the two risings were quelled, however, encouraged him to a more extreme policy. He increased the numbers of the standing army, which was a very unpopular institution, to thirty thousand men. He began a systematic policy of officering it with Roman Catholics, by making use of the *dispensing power*, a power by which the judges held he was able to dispense, in the case of particular individuals, with the laws passed against the Roman Catholics. He changed his ministers, moderate men like Halifax or High Churchmen like Rochester giving way to Roman Catholics and recent converts to that religion like Sunderland; and in Ireland he made Tyrconnel, a bigoted Roman Catholic, viceroy. He showed his intention of converting the University of Oxford by appointing

James's tyranny, 1686–88.

[1] Oates subsequently joined the sect of Baptists, and used often to preach from the pulpit of Wapping Chapel; but he was finally expelled by the sect "as a disorderly person and a hypocrite".

[2] These eight hundred were presented to various courtiers, who sold them to slavery in the West Indian plantations.

a Roman Catholic to the Deanery of Christ Church and by substituting Roman Catholic for Protestant Fellows at Magdalen College; and therefore incurred the hostility of that University, which had always been the most loyal supporter of the House of Stuart. He re-established the High Commission Court and issued a *Declaration of Indulgence*, suspending the penal laws against the Roman Catholics and Dissenters. He prorogued and finally dissolved his first Parliament (July, 1687), and he then made preparations for "packing" another one by calling on the Lords-Lieutenant to provide him with a list of Roman Catholics and Nonconformists suitable as Members—a demand which led most of them to resign.

Such conduct on the part of James alienated not only those classes who had fought against his father but also the classes—the country gentlemen and the clergy—who had fought for him. In the early summer of 1688 the crisis came. In *May*, the king issued a *second Declaration of Indulgence*, and ordered it to be read in churches. The Archbishop of Canterbury and six other bishops drew up a protest, and James decided to try them for libel. On *June 10* a son was born to James by his second wife, Mary of Modena. People had so far been content to await the advent of a new reign, in the hope that James's Protestant daughter Mary and her husband William of Orange, the ruler of Holland and a strong Protestant, would succeed. But now James had a successor who would be educated as a Roman Catholic. Moreover, it was widely believed that the child was not really the child of James and his wife, but had been brought into the palace in a warming-pan. On *June 30* the Seven Bishops were acquitted, and on that night there was a scene of indescribable enthusiasm and rejoicing in London. On the same evening seven men of importance, representing different shades of opinion, met and drew up a letter inviting William to bring an army over to England and to restore to its people their liberties.[1]

The crisis, May-June 30, 1688.

At this moment Louis XIV offered James his assistance.

[1] The letter was signed in cipher and conveyed by Admiral Herbert (afterwards Lord Torrington) who, disguised as a common sailor, managed to reach the Dutch coast in safety.

James, not appreciating his danger, refused it. Fortunately for William, Louis then moved his troops from the Netherlands frontier to wage a campaign in Germany. With Holland no longer threatened by a French army, William felt himself justified in coming to England, especially as he had received assurances of help from leaders of the English army and navy. He landed at Torbay on *November 5, 1688*, and received support at once. Later he was joined by John Churchill (afterwards the famous Duke of Marlborough), the chief man in the army, whilst an insurrection, supported by Anne, James's second daughter, took place in Yorkshire. James tried conciliation, but it was already too late. He then tried flight, and was ignominiously brought back to London. Finally, William, having arrived in London, sent James to Rochester. There only lax guard was kept over him, and James again escaped—to William's great satisfaction—and at 3 a.m. on Christmas Day, 1688, landed in France. James's reign was over,[1] and so at last was the long struggle of King and Parliament. The Revolution of 1688 was, as we shall see, to produce wide-reaching and permanent changes in our system of government.

The Revolution of 1688.

2. Scotland under the Commonwealth and later Stuarts, 1651–88

We must now say a few words about the history of Scotland since Commonwealth times. At the Battle of Worcester, 1651, the Scottish army was destroyed as a fighting force, and Scotland was occupied by an English army and subjugated. Till the Restoration in 1660 she was governed by George Monck and English Commissioners. On the whole, their rule was very successful. Taxation, no doubt, was heavy, but still justice was done in civil and criminal cases far more effectively and speedily than ever before. The tyranny of the Presbyterian Church was broken, and some

Scotland under the Commonwealth, 1651–60.

[1] During his first flight, on December 11, James had thrown the "Great Seal" into the Thames at Vauxhall, the seal being the symbol of authority without which no deed of Government was valid. This date was subsequently taken as the legal date of James's "abdication".

efforts in the direction of toleration were made. The Highlands were pacified and good order maintained throughout Scotland.[1] Above all, Scotland secured Free Trade with England, and her prosperity was, as a consequence, greatly developed.

Then came the Restoration. One result of it was that Scotland lost her Free Trade with England, though she recovered her independence. Another was that the supreme authority of the king was restored. And along with the king's supremacy in political affairs, the supremacy of the bishops was re-established in religious matters. From 1638–51 the Presbyterians had been the persecuting body; now it was their turn to suffer. The Marquis of Argyll,[2] the leader of the Presbyterians, whose loyalty to the Stuarts had been somewhat doubtful, and who had made terms with Cromwell's Government, was beheaded, as were three others. All existing holders of livings had to be re-instituted by bishops; but nearly one-third of the ministers refused to recognize the bishops and were "outed" from their benefices. By a Law, known popularly as the "Bishop's Drag-net", those persons who refused to go to church were fined; and laws which increased in severity as time went on were passed against persons attending conventicles, i.e. religious meetings outside church. These laws resulted in a good deal of persecution,[3] especially in the south-west, which was full of Covenanters.

Scotland and the Restoration.

It is true that Lauderdale, who governed Scotland for many years,[4] did, at times, attempt reconciliation. But the Covenanters in the south-west were irreconcilable. They believed in the Divine origin of Presbyterianism and would never recognize the rule of bishops. Finally, an army was sent in 1676 into the south-west to suppress the conventicles and to disarm the country, and committed various atrocities. In 1679 Archbishop Sharp, who had been a Covenanter and then deserted to the Episcopalians, was murdered

The Covenanters; Drumclog and Bothwell Brig, 1679.

[1] "A man may ride over all Scotland", said a contemporary, "with a switch in his hand and a hundred pounds in his pocket, which he could not have done these five hundred years."

[2] He was known in the Lowlands, in consequence of a slight squint, as "the gleyd-eyed Marquis".

[3] Even "the Boot" was used for the extraction of evidence against Covenanters, "the Boot" being a frame into which wedges were driven to crush the leg.

[4] From 1667–79.

in the East, and then the Western Whigs rose and routed the king's forces at *Drumclog*. The Duke of Monmouth was sent to deal with them, and at *Bothwell Brig* the Covenanters were overcome. Fresh persecution followed, and the extreme Covenanters were very harshly treated.[1]

Of the rest of Scottish history till the Revolution we have little space to say anything. James II—or James VII of Scotland—ascended the throne in 1685. He had been, for a short period in Charles's reign, High Commissioner in Scotland and was not unpopular with the leading men in that country.[2] The Earl of Argyll,[3] it is true, did attempt a rebellion on behalf of Monmouth, but it came to nothing and Argyll was beheaded. James II, however, quickly alienated all classes by his policy, for a Roman Catholic service was established in Holyrood and Roman Catholics put into various offices. Scotland was consequently full of discontent when, in 1688, the Revolution came in England.

Scotland under James II.

XXXII. Ireland under Tudors and Stuarts, 1485-1688

1. Ireland under the Tudors

We turn from Scotland to survey the history of Ireland under the Tudors and Stuarts. When Henry VII ascended the English throne in 1485, Ireland was in a deplorably backward condition. The Renaissance and all the movements connected with it had left Ireland completely untouched. Learning had perished. Religion had no real hold upon the people. The country was covered with forests and bogs which made communication difficult, and roads were almost non-existent; and it is reckoned that of the three-quarters of a

Condition of Ireland, 1485.

[1] John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, in particular showed considerable energy in his suppression of the advanced Presbyterians.

[2] James, amongst other things, proved an excellent golfer.

[3] The son of the Marquis who was executed on Charles II's accession.

million people inhabiting the land, at least two-thirds led a wild and uncivilized existence. "*The Pale*"—the district where English jurisdiction was actually established—had been gradually reduced till it only included a stretch of country, some thirty miles wide, from Dundalk to Dublin; outside this area Irish customs and the Irish language prevailed, and each Irish chieftain was supreme in his own district. The descendants of the Anglo-Normans who had conquered the country in Henry II's day had become *Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores*—more Irish than the Irish themselves. Of these the chief families were the *Butlers*, under the Earl of Ormonde in the south-east, and the *Fitz-Geralds* or *Geraldines*, under the headship of the Earl of Desmond in Munster, and under that of the Earl of Kildare in Leinster. Of the old Irish families perhaps the most important were the *O'Neills* and the *O'Donnells* in Ulster.

From the accession of Henry VII till the year 1534 there is little to record in Irish history. An Irish bishop, so runs the story, once told Henry VII that all Ireland could not rule the Earl of Kildare. "Then", said the king, "he must be the man to rule all Ireland." At all events, whether the story is true or false, Ireland was governed for the greater part of this period by two successive *earls of Kildare*, though their rule was tempered by occasional intervals of imprisonment in the Tower of London.[1] It was during one of these periods when the Earl of Kildare was under suspicion of treason that *Sir Edward Poynings* was sent out to Ireland as "Lord Deputy". Poynings managed to get two laws passed in the Irish Parliament which made that Parliament completely dependent upon England; for no Parliament was in future to be summoned without the consent of the king and his Privy Council —the King in Council, as it was called—nor could it discuss any bills without the consent of the same authority (1494).

The rule of the Earls of Kildare, 1485–1534.

With the year 1534, Henry VIII began to take a more active part in the affairs of Ireland. The Earl of Kildare, of whose government complaints had been made, was summoned

[1] The first of these two earls, called "the Great Earl", ruled the country for nearly thirty years before his death in 1513. He was a person of remarkable gifts; moreover, he collected an excellent library of Latin, English, French, and Irish books, and his praises were sung by the great Italian poet of the day, Ariosto.

to England, and, his answers not being considered satisfactory, he was put, not for the first time, into the Tower. His son, called "Silken Thomas" from the silken fringe on his helmet, who had heard that his father had been executed and that his family were to be exterminated, rose in rebellion. But the great stronghold of the Geraldines in Leinster, the Castle of *Maynooth*, was taken by the new English lord deputy, and the army which Silken Thomas—now Earl of Kildare, as his father had died in the Tower—was bringing to its relief "melted away like a snow-drift" on the news of its capture. Finally Thomas surrendered himself to the king's mercy and was sent to England, and, some months later, he and his five uncles, three of whom had been treacherously seized at a dinner party to which they had been invited, suffered the penalties of treason at Tyburn. So fell the great house of Kildare.[1]

Changes in Ireland, 1535-47.

The remainder of Henry VIII's reign saw a steady development of the king's power; and for the future, English lord deputies were appointed. The Irish Parliament recognized Henry as King of Ireland. Religious changes similar to those in England were made: the Papacy was repudiated and Henry declared "Head of the Irish Church;" the monasteries were dissolved and some of the images in the churches destroyed. Towards the Irish chieftains Henry pursued a policy of "sober ways, politic shifts, and amiable persuasions lest by extreme demands they should revolt to their former beastliness". He made arrangements with many of them by which, in return for acknowledging his sovereignty in Church and State, and surrendering the land of the tribes to him, they received English titles and the gift of some monastic lands, besides the re-grant to themselves and their heirs of the lands of their tribe. Henry's policy was successful during his lifetime, and it was said, just before his death, "that there lives not any in Ireland, even were he of the age of Nestor, who ever saw his country in a more peaceable state".

Moreover, in the reigns of Henry's successors there was little

[1] Of the male branch of the family only one child—the brother of "Silken Thomas"—survived; but he was taken by his aunt to a place of safety in the wilds of Ireland, and eventually escaped to France. After fighting on behalf of the Knights of Rhodes against the Moors, he returned to Ireland, and was given back the Kildare lands in Mary's reign.

trouble. The advisers of Edward VI met with little opposition in making further changes in a Protestant direction, whilst the lord deputy had no difficulty in persuading the Irish Parliament to restore the authority of the Pope in Mary's reign and to repudiate it again on the accession of Elizabeth.

The reign of Elizabeth, however, was one long catalogue of rebellions. In the early years of her reign occurred the rising of *Shane O'Neill*. He claimed the headship of the O'Neill tribe and the earldom of Tyrone, bestowed on Shane's father by Henry VIII. There was a rival claimant whom the British Government at first supported, but eventually, after many changes, Elizabeth recognized Shane's rights.[1] But Shane had large ambitions. He wished to become supreme in Ulster; he had a large army at his disposal; and he intrigued with Mary, Queen of Scots, and with Charles IX, the King of France. Finally, the English Government proclaimed him a traitor. Shane was defeated and then killed, and his head, "pickled in a pipkin", was sent to the English lord deputy (1567).

Shane O'Neill's Rebellion.

But meanwhile came a great religious revival in Ireland. Outside "the Pale" little or no attempt had been made to enforce Protestantism. It is true in the course of Elizabeth's reign a law was passed forbidding the exercise of any religious worship except the Anglican, but it was impossible to enforce such an act against a whole nation, and the Irish Roman Catholics practically possessed liberty of worship. The reign of Elizabeth was contemporaneous with the great movement known as the Counter-Reformation, when the Roman Catholics recovered much ground that they had previously lost. Nowhere did the movement meet with more striking success than in Ireland. Soon after the accession of Elizabeth, Jesuit priests came over and obtained enormous influence, and on Elizabeth's excommunication in 1570 the Pope was regarded as the temporal ruler of Ireland.[2] Moreover, there were expectations of assistance from Philip II of Spain.

Revival of Catholicism.

[1] Shane came over himself to England to Elizabeth's Court attended by bareheaded followers in saffron-coloured shirts and rough friezes, who made an immense sensation in London.

[2] It will be remembered that it was the Pope who gave Ireland to Henry II.

Hence, as a consequence, there were two rebellions headed by that branch of the FitzGeralds who lived in Munster. The first was unimportant, but the second, which broke out in 1579, led to a great and general rising under the *Earl of Desmond*. The rebels met with some success, and a Spanish and Italian force landed and occupied *Smerwick*.[1] But the foreigners very quickly surrendered and were all—to the number of six hundred—put to the sword as pirates because they could produce no mandate from Philip II. Finally, after a campaign of four years, Munster was quelled. The war had been one of the most appalling ferocity; no Irish soldier was promised quarter, it was said, unless he brought the head of another Irishman with him; Munster had been converted into a desert, and in the last six months of the war it was calculated that no less than thirty thousand people had died of starvation.[2] It was then determined to "plant" Munster with English colonists. Such an idea was not new—in Mary's reign arrangements had been made to "plant" part of the counties now known as "King's County" and "Queen's County", arrangements carried out on Elizabeth's accession. But now it was to be done on a gigantic scale; nearly half a million acres were distributed to "undertakers" who undertook to introduce English settlers—an agreement which in many cases, however, was not carried out.[3]

The Desmond Rebellion, 1579–83.

The last and most formidable rebellion of all had its centre in the north of Ireland. Its leaders were *Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone*, and *Hugh Roe*, the *head of the O'Donnells*. Tyrone won a victory at the "Yellow Ford" on the Blackwater in 1598. Had he shown more enterprise he

Tyrone's Rebellion, 1595–1603.

[1] A nuncio from the Pope, Dr. Nicholas Sandars, also arrived with them, and showed great activity in directing the rebellion. He baffled all attempts at capture, but finally died of exposure and cold, his body being found in a wood "with his Breviary and his Bible under his arm".

[2] The poet Spenser's description of the condition of the people after the rebellion is well known: "Out of every corner of woods and glens they came creeping forth, for their legs would not bear them; they looked like anatomies of death, they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves, and a most populous and plentiful country was suddenly left void of man and beast".

[3] Amongst the "undertakers" were Sir Walter Ralegh and the poet Spenser. It was in Ireland that Spenser wrote a great part of the *Faerie Queene*. When Ralegh was his guest, Spenser showed him the first three books. Ralegh was delighted with them, and they came over to London together in 1589 to see about their publication.

might have succeeded in taking Dublin. As it was, his victory led to a fresh rising in Munster. Moreover, the Spaniards made an alliance with him and sent him arms and money; and the Pope presented him with a "peacock's feather" and promised indulgence to all who would rise in defence of the Church. The situation looked serious—never before had there been a rebellion which had united so many tribes in Ireland, or which partook more of a national rising. *Essex*, Elizabeth's favourite, was sent over in 1599, but he made a truce with Tyrone instead of fighting him, and then returned home. His successor, Lord *Mountjoy*, found, on his arrival in 1600, the rebels in control of all Ireland up to the walls of Dublin. But he was a man of great capacity. He compelled a Spanish force which had landed at Kinsale to surrender. Then, turning against Tyrone, he carried on a war rather, it has been said, "with the spade than the sword". He built forts at all the chief passes to stop communications, and by systematically ravaging each district starved it out. His methods were successful; and in 1603, just before the news of Elizabeth's death reached Ireland, Tyrone submitted on promise that his title and his lands should be restored to him.

At Elizabeth's death the conquest of Ireland was for the first time complete. Yet it had been carried out with excessive brutality, and Elizabeth was told, at the end of her life, that she reigned but over "ashes and dead carcases". We read of an English deputy attempting to send to Shane O'Neill a present of poisoned wine; of children in Desmond's rebellion being hoisted by the English soldiers on the point of their spears and whirled about in their agony; of Irish women so reduced by starvation during Mountjoy's campaign that they lit fires to attract children, whom they then seized and devoured. No doubt the brutalities were by no means confined to the English side. Moreover, the Irish were regarded, in Spenser's words, as "a savage nation", and they were in league with the two mortal foes of the English—the Pope and the King of Spain; and their chiefs were often very unreliable and treacherous in their dealings with the English lord deputy. Yet, making allowance for all these facts, it is difficult to excuse much that was done, and the Irish Protes-

Horrors of Irish warfare.

tants were to pay dearly in 1641 for the evil deeds pepetrated during the reign of the great queen.

2. Ireland under the Stuarts

Soon after James I came to the throne, an opportunity arose of developing the system of "plantation" begun in the reign of Elizabeth. In 1607 the *Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel*, the heads of the two great Irish tribes in *Ulster*, fearing that they were about to be attainted for treason, fled from the country. The Government then proceeded to confiscate the lands of these two clans. It held that the lands belonged to the two earls, the heads of the tribes; but, by Irish theory and custom, these lands belonged to the tribe, and it is difficult to justify the course pursued by the English Government. Some of the lands—the worst part of them—were restored to the Irish; but over half a million acres were given to settlers from England and Scotland and to the City of London and its twelve City Companies. Nor was Ulster the only province affected. Adventurers flocked over to Ireland, inquired into the titles of land in various districts, and, where they were non-existent or defective, obtained the grant of them from the Government.

The Plantation of Ulster, 1607.

The next important stage in the history of Ireland is marked by the *rule of Strafford* (*1633–40*). In many ways his government was admirable. He made the officials attend to their business, and endeavoured, with some success, to put a stop to jobbery. He found an army half-clothed and half-armed, undrilled and unpaid; he transformed it into an efficient fighting force well disciplined, well officered, and well paid. The Irish Sea, before his rule, was full of pirates; but under Strafford piracy was sternly and successfully repressed.[1] To his initiative was due the creation of the flax industry in Ireland, an industry started with money which he himself subscribed. He improved the Protestant Church; restored order to the Services; and encouraged clergymen of ability in England

Strafford in Ireland, 1633–40.

[1] Strafford himself experienced the inconveniences of piracy, for a pirate ship, the *Pickpocket*, of Dover, captured linen belonging to him worth £500.

to come over and take benefices in Ireland.[1] Finally he summoned the Irish Parliament, and made it pass some excellent laws.

Strafford's rule was then, for many things, worthy of great



commendation. But his conduct was, in other ways, of an exceedingly arbitrary character, and his treatment of individuals

[1] The condition of the Protestant Church in Ireland had been deplorable. A few years before Strafford came to Ireland the Archbishop of Cashel had held, besides his archbishopric, three bishoprics and seventy-seven livings. Strafford found on his arrival that the Earl of Cork had appropriated the revenues of a bishopric worth £1000 a year for a rent of £20. The earl, however, did not keep them for long when Strafford heard of it, and had to disgorge.

was often very high-handed. It is, however, in his proceedings with regard to *Connaught* that he showed himself at his worst. He wished to "plant" that province, as Ulster had been "planted" a few years earlier. With this object he caused an enquiry to be made into the titles of the landholders, and intimidated and browbeat the juries into giving verdicts which would justify him in confiscating the lands. Before, however, he could bring over settlers the condition of affairs in England led him, as we have seen, in 1640 to leave Ireland.

Few will deny that Strafford's masterful energy had been of great service to the country; but his lack of sympathy with Irish hopes, his contempt and disregard for Irish customs and Irish sentiments, caused his rule to be regarded with a hatred which was almost universal. In Strafford's view the people ought not "to feed themselves with the vain flatteries of imaginary liberty"; their duty was merely "to attend upon the king's will with assurance in his parental affections". But in Ireland, as well as in England, the time for such sentiments was past. People no longer wished to be governed for their own good—they preferred to run the risk of misgoverning themselves.

Five months after Strafford's execution *the Irish Rebellion* broke out (*October, 1641*). That the Irish should have risen is not surprising. They had the memory of past injustice to stimulate them. The suppression of the Irish race in Elizabeth's reign had been carried out, it has been said, with a ferocity that was hardly exceeded by any page in the bloodstained annals of the Turks; whilst the confiscations of their land in Ulster during James I's reign, and the threatened confiscations in Connaught under Strafford, had appeared to the Irish to be monstrously unjust. But besides the memory of the past they had the fear of the future. The Scottish Covenanters and the Puritan majority in the Long Parliament now threatened to be supreme; and it was believed, not altogether without ground, that they would root out the Roman Catholic religion from Ireland.[1]

The Irish Rebellion, 1641.

[1] It was reported in Ireland that a member of the Long Parliament had said that the conversion of the Irish Papists could only be effected with the Bible in one hand and the sword in the other, whilst Pym had prophesied that Parliament would not leave one priest in Ireland.

The rebellion broke out on the night of October 22, 1641, and for ten and a half years Ireland was to suffer from almost incessant warfare. The centre of the rebellion was at first Ulster, where the English and Scots were driven from their homes and endured the most fearful hardships, and from Ulster it spread to Wicklow. In a rebellion at such a period some massacres were perhaps inevitable; and modern historians estimate that about four thousand Protestants were killed, and that double this number died of famine or exposure. These figures are horrible enough, but to the Puritan imagination in England the number of victims was far greater, and by some people was put at one hundred thousand, and by others even as high as three hundred thousand.[1] It was natural, therefore, that the Long Parliament should pass, in angry vengeance, two laws against the Irish Catholics, the one declaring that no toleration should be granted to the Catholic religion in Ireland, and the other confiscating two and a half million acres of land in that country for the benefit of those who subscribed towards the suppression of the rebellion. The chief result of such laws, again, was to embitter feeling in Ireland, and led to many Catholic gentlemen joining in the rising.

In 1642 the situation was complicated by the outbreak of the Civil War in England, and affairs in Ireland became so entangled, owing to the variety of parties, that a brief summary is hardly possible. It is sufficient to say that Charles, in the course of the Civil War, made attempts to secure aid from the Irish, and that a few did come over; but otherwise nothing definite was done. Then, in 1649, when Charles was executed, all parties in Ireland combined, for a brief period, in order to secure the recognition of his son as king, as the prospect of rule by the "Rump" Parliament was detested by all alike.

Irish affairs, 1642–9.

Consequently Cromwell was sent over to subdue Ireland. But before he arrived a Colonel Jones had defeated the combined army at *Rathmines*, and the Irish, till they could gather fresh forces, had to rely on their ability to hold out in their fortresses. Cromwell, however, quickly

Cromwell in Ireland, 1649–50.

[1] This number is a third more than the total estimated Protestant population in Ireland.

stormed *Drogheda* and *Wexford*,[1] and before he left Ireland had obtained possession of the whole coast except Waterford. The conquest which Cromwell had begun his son-in-law, Ireton, completed, and by April, 1652, the whole of Ireland was subdued.

The condition of Ireland at the end of this long period of warfare was pitiable. Over one-third of the population, it is estimated, died during these ten years of bloodshed and misery. Much of the land was out of cultivation, and a great deal of country depopulated. The inhabitants were further reduced, as thousands of Irishmen went to serve in foreign armies, and some hundreds of boys and girls were shipped to Barbados and sold to the planters.

The war was followed by fresh plantations. Enormous quantities of land were distributed to Cromwell's soldiers and other Protestant settlers, whilst some of the previous landholders were given compensation in Connaught. At the same time the exercise of the Catholic religion was rigidly suppressed. But, in Ireland as in Scotland, Cromwell's rule had merits. Good justice was administered, and on the whole fair order was maintained.[2] Above all, Ireland enjoyed the benefits of free trade with England.

Rule of Commonwealth.

The Restoration in 1660 brought to Ireland the same difficulty over the land question as had occurred in England—what was to happen to the Cromwellian settlers? Eventually it was settled in this way: those landholders who could prove that they had no share in the rebellion of 1641 recovered their lands, whilst the Cromwellian holders

Ireland under Charles II.

[1] Cromwell put the whole garrison to death at Drogheda: "I do not think thirty of the whole number escaped with their lives", he wrote. By the rules of war at that time the garrison of a place which had refused to surrender and was then stormed was liable to this fate. Cromwell, however, defended his conduct on the ground that the garrison had been concerned in the massacres of 1641 and that severity on this occasion would lead other garrisons to surrender at once. It may be doubted whether this severity had this result, and, as a matter of fact, no member of the garrison had been concerned in the previous massacres. Both at Drogheda and Wexford Cromwell put to death all the priests he could find, by knocking them on the head, as he himself put it.

[2] Measures had to be undertaken for the extermination of two pests—wolves and Tories. The former had increased enormously during the war, and one man was allowed to lease an estate, only 9 miles from Dublin, at a very cheap rate, on condition that he kept a pack of wolfhounds and "a knowing huntsman". Tories were discontented Irish soldiers who had, in the Cromwellian settlement, lost their holdings, and murdered the new colonists and stole their cattle. Five pounds was offered for the head of a wolf, and as much as twenty pounds for the head of a really bad Tory.

of them received compensation elsewhere. The general result was this, that, whereas in 1640 two-thirds of the landholders had been Roman Catholic, two-thirds of the land was now in Protestant hands.[1]

The reign of Charles II was a period of peace for Ireland. For a great part of the time Ormonde was the ruler, and under him a discreet toleration was exercised, and the country enjoyed repose. In the reign of Charles II, however, Ireland not only lost her free trade with England, but began to suffer from the laws which the influence of jealous English merchants and farmers secured in the English Parliament. But of that we shall have something to say later on.

XXXIII. A Period of Foreign Wars, 1689-1714

The Revolution of 1688 ushered in a period of prolonged conflict for Great Britain. Between 1688 and 1815 she was engaged in a series of seven great wars, which occupied no less than fifty-six years. Of these wars five begin and the other two end as wars in which Great Britain's chief opponent is France, and we must try to understand the general causes of the hostility between these two countries before examining the particular causes of each war.

The conflict with France, 1689–1815.

First of all, there were the ambitions of France in Europe. France wanted to extend and to strengthen her eastern frontier with the ultimate object of making the River Rhine her boundary.[2] This could only be accomplished at the expense, in the south-east, of the German States and, in the

The Barrier Fortresses.

[1] The settlers of Elizabeth's and James I's day or their descendants held about one-third, and the Cromwellian settlers the other third.

[2] The Rhine, the frontier of old Gaul, was the great object of French ambition. An old proverb ran—

Quand Paris boira le Rhin
Toute la Gaule aura sa fin.

north-east, of the Netherlands. The Netherlands were divided. Part of them, called Holland or the United Provinces, was independent: part of them, corresponding to the modern country of Belgium, belonged to the King of Spain up till 1713, when it came under the rule of Austria. The frontier between France and what is now Belgium was no natural boundary, such as a river or a range of mountains, but on either side of it had been built a great chain of forts known as the "Barrier Fortresses". Those on the Belgian side were slowly and steadily passing into the hands of France as she pushed her frontier forward. Once they were all, or nearly all, in her hands, France might be able to seize not only Belgium, but Holland as well. But with the independence of Holland, England's own fortunes were linked. The French, if they obtained outlets in the North Sea, would threaten our maritime position and consequently our national security. For that reason England insisted that the "Barrier Fortresses" should be fortified wholly or in part by soldiers from Holland. "No Holland, no Great Britain," might have been the motto of English statesmen.

France and Spain.

The ambitions of France were not only concerned with the acquisition of the Rhine frontier. At various times between 1689 and 1815 her rulers attempted, if not to annex the country, at all events to control the policy of Spain by means of a close family alliance or a treaty. Moreover, Louis XIV (1643–1715) at the beginning, and the French revolutionaries and Napoleon (1793–1815) at the end, of the period had achieved a position in Europe which threatened the independence of all other States.

World ambitions.

The causes of this constant warfare between England and France were not, however, solely European. The ambitions of France and of England clashed, as will be shown later, throughout the world. In India and in the West Indies, in North America and in North Africa, a great struggle had to be contested to decide between their competing ideals of expansion. And if contemporary statesmen, with rare exceptions, attached more importance to the European than to the Imperial aspect of the struggle, to us to-day it is the struggle for Empire that must always possess the greater interest.

We must now deal with the wars in detail. And first we will take the two wars that were fought between 1688 and 1713. The position of Louis XIV in 1688 was unique. His army, although it had been engaged in continual wars, had suffered no serious reverse in battle for over forty years, and his navy was equal to those of Holland and England combined. In Louvois the king possessed the best war minister, in Vauban the best engineer, and in Tourville the best admiral of the age; and though Condé and Turenne, his greatest generals, were dead by 1689, he still had Luxembourg and Villars. With such resources at his command, Louis, during his reign, had added to his dominions many of the frontier fortresses in the Netherlands already referred to, and, farther south, Alsace, Franche Comté, and the great fortress of Strasbourg. He was threatening further annexations at the expense of the Netherlands and of Germany. The English kings, Charles II and James II, had been his pensioners, and he had hopes of securing for his family the succession to the throne of Spain. The Revolution in England, however, ruined the plans of Louis XIV. To a king of England who was dependent upon Louis for money and upon his ambassador for advice succeeded William III, the ruler of Holland, one whose whole life had been devoted to resisting France. William had already in 1688 formed a League against France, and the support of England in 1689 was the coping stone to that alliance. "Without the concurrence of the realm and power of England", said William later, "it was impossible to put a stop to the ambitions and greatness of France."

The position of Louis XIV.

The war which followed is known in Continental history as the *War of the League of Augsburg* (*1689–97*). To us it is better known as the *War of the English Succession*, for Louis XIV was supporting James II, and therefore its issue decided whether William or James was to be king of England. For the first two years of the war (*1689–90*) English military operations were confined mainly to the British Isles and to the sea. In Scotland, John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, raised the Highlanders on behalf of James, and routed, in the space of two minutes, just beyond the Pass of *Killiecrankie*, William's forces

The War of the English Succession.

The war from 1689–90.

under the leadership of Mackay whilst the latter were trying to fix the lately invented bayonets into the muzzle of their muskets (June, 1689). In the battle, however, Dundee was mortally wounded, and with his death all the energy was taken out of the movement, which quickly subsided.

In Scotland.

Meantime, in Ireland, James II arrived with French money and troops. In Ireland the situation was far more serious than in Scotland, for, in addition to the bitter religious feeling, there was the racial hatred between the Irish inhabitants and the English and Scottish settlers. A war between Catholics and Protestants at once broke out. The Protestants in the North were attacked and the two Protestant strongholds, *Londonderry* and *Enniskillen*, besieged. But the Protestants in Londonderry held out heroically for one hundred and five days till they were relieved, whilst those in Enniskillen attacked their besiegers and won the Battle of *Newtown Butler*.

In Ireland.

Subsequently William himself came to Ireland, and won a victory at the *River Boyne* (July 1, 1690). The battle was notable for the variety of nations engaged in it. Of James's forces, over a third were French, and the commander-in-chief was a Frenchman. On William's side, about half were natives of England, and, of course, he had many Irish Protestants from the north of Ireland and some two thousand Dutchmen fighting for him; the rest of his force included Huguenots, Prussians, Danes, and Finlanders. William, contrary to the advice of his chief commanders, decided to cross a ford of the river on the other side of which was drawn up the army of James. He might have paid dearly for his rashness; but the French troops had been withdrawn to guard James's left flank, and the Irish infantry, untrained and ill-disciplined, were quickly repulsed, whole regiments in one part of the field flinging away "arms, colours, and cloaks, and scampering off to the hills without striking a blow or firing a shot."[1] Only the bravery of the French troops and the Irish cavalry in the subsequent operations saved the retreat from being a disastrous one. James shortly afterwards fled back to France, and in 1691 the war in Ireland came to an end. John Churchill,

[1] See the description in Macaulay's History.

the future Duke of Marlborough, had a brilliant campaign, and took Cork and Kinsale, whilst Ginckel, a Dutch general, won a desperate battle for William at *Aughrim*. A few months later *Limerick*, the last great Catholic fortress, surrendered, and with its capitulation William's position in Ireland was secure.

On the Sea.

On the sea, in these two years, Louis XIV missed his chances. With a superior fleet, and with the best admiral of the day in Tourville,[1] he should, according to military historians, have isolated Ireland from England so as to give every assistance to James; instead of which William was allowed to pass over to Ireland unmolested, and his communications were never threatened even for an hour. Tourville, however, on June 30, 1690, the day before the Battle of the Boyne, met at *Beachy Head* a combined Dutch and English fleet under Lord Torrington. The latter, who was inferior in force, wished to refuse battle with his van and centre and to fight only a rearguard action.[2] But the impetuous Dutch van insisted on fighting, and were very severely handled; and had Tourville followed up his victory, the result might have been disastrous.

The war from 1691–7.

During the rest of the war (*1691–7*) England obtained the supremacy at sea. In 1692 came the victory off *La Hogue*. Tourville, on this occasion vastly inferior in force, had fought with credit a rearguard action against the English admiral, Russell. But, after the battle, the French fleet had to retire in some disorder, and many ships retreated through the dangerous "Race of Alderney", which is between that island and the mainland. Thirteen of the French ships, however, were unable to get through, took refuge at La Hogue, and were burnt by Russell's fleet. That victory, received in England with tremendous and perhaps exaggerated enthusiasm, saved England from fear of invasion, and

On the Sea.

[1] Tourville had served in the French fleet for thirty years, and had seen service in the Anglo-Dutch wars and against the Barbary pirates. He was a practical seaman as well as a good tactician; indeed it was a saying at the time that he could act in any capacity from a ship's carpenter to an admiral.

[2] The Government had information that the enemy's ships-of-the-line numbered only sixty, and ordered Torrington with his fifty ships to engage them. Torrington counted with his own eyes—or rather with his one eye, as he had lost the other in an explosion—eighty ships of the enemy, and was unwilling to fight, but he had to obey orders.

gave to her the command of the Channel.[1] The French, however, then took to commerce-destroying and did considerable damage, especially when they captured one hundred out of four hundred ships of a convoy bound for Smyrna. In 1694 an interesting event occurred. William sent a fleet to the Mediterranean, where it saved Barcelona from capture and consequently Spain from French control, and by wintering at Cadiz and returning to the Mediterranean in the next year exerted considerable influence upon the course of the war.

On land during these years (1691–7) the English operations are confined to the Spanish Netherlands. The war was chiefly a war of sieges. William as a soldier was painstaking but mediocre; his opponent, Luxembourg, was brilliant but indolent. Consequently William generally lost the battles; but Luxembourg took no advantage of his victories. William's designs were excellent. Thus he tried to surprise Luxembourg at *Steinkirk* in 1692; but he wasted time by a preliminary cannonade of artillery which lasted one hour and a half, and by an elaborate deployment of infantry which was already late in arriving. Luxembourg, though genuinely surprised, marshalled his troops with great rapidity and won a victory. In the next year (1693) William was beaten at *Neerwinden*. But by sheer tenacity and strength of purpose he clung on, and two years later he won his first great success by recapturing the strong fortress of Namur.

In the Netherlands.

Finally, by 1697, France was exhausted, and at the *Treaty of Ryswick* she recognized William as King of England, and gave up all her conquests since 1678 except Strasbourg. The war had been an uninteresting one. The English had, however, done well. They had secured the supremacy at sea. They had learnt some valuable lessons under William's leadership, lessons whose effect was to be shown in the subsequent wars under Marlborough. They had secured an honourable treaty, and, above all, had helped to inflict the first decided check on the ambitions of Louis XIV.

The Treaty of Ryswick, 1697.

[1] "During several days", says Macaulay, "the bells of London pealed without ceasing. Flags were flying on all the steeples. Rows of candles were in all the windows. Bonfires were at all the corners of the streets. And three Lords took down with them £37,000 in coin to distribute among the sailors."

We turn now to the causes of the next war—*the War of the Spanish Succession.* That two monarchs should arrange for the distribution of the territories belonging to a third monarch in anticipation of his death and without consulting either him or his ministers seems an indefensible proceeding. Yet this is what happened in 1698. The circumstances were, it is true, peculiar. The Spanish dominions included not only Spain, but the Spanish Netherlands, Milan and Naples, Sicily and Sardinia, besides vast possessions in the West Indies and South America. Charles II, the King of Spain, had no children or brothers, but he had two sisters and two aunts. Of the two aunts, the elder had married the French king, and the younger the emperor. They were all dead, but their respective sons, Louis XIV and the Emperor Leopold, had married, the one the elder and the other the younger of the two sisters of the Spanish king.[1] Here was a difficult situation. It was quite obvious that neither Louis XIV nor Leopold nor their eldest sons could be allowed to add the enormous territories of Spain to those either of France or Austria. It was hopeless to deal with Charles II, who was sickly and half-witted, and consequently Louis XIV and William III proceeded to draw up Partition Treaties by which a baby, the grandson of Leopold and the heir to the Electorate of Bavaria, was to succeed to the greater part of the Spanish dominions (1698).

The Spanish Succession and the Partition Treaties, 1698-1702.

Unfortunately the Bavarian baby died of smallpox. Another treaty was accordingly drawn up (1700), under which the Archduke Charles, the *second* son of the emperor, was to obtain the bulk of the Spanish inheritance, but the Dauphin of France was to have Naples and Milan.[2] It is hardly a matter for surprise that the King of Spain, when he heard of these Partition Treaties, flew into a violent passion, and that his queen smashed some of the furniture in her room. The King of Spain subsequently sickened, and on his deathbed was persuaded to leave all his possessions to Philip, the *second* son of the Dauphin (1700). Louis XIV, after some hesitation, accepted the will and threw over the treaty. Philip was therefore declared King of Spain. A Bourbon had displaced a Hapsburg, and Louis XIV might well have said—as

[1] See table on p. 325.

[2] Milan was to be exchanged for Lorraine.

he is wrongly reported to have said—"Henceforth there are no Pyrenees".

Causes of renewal of war.

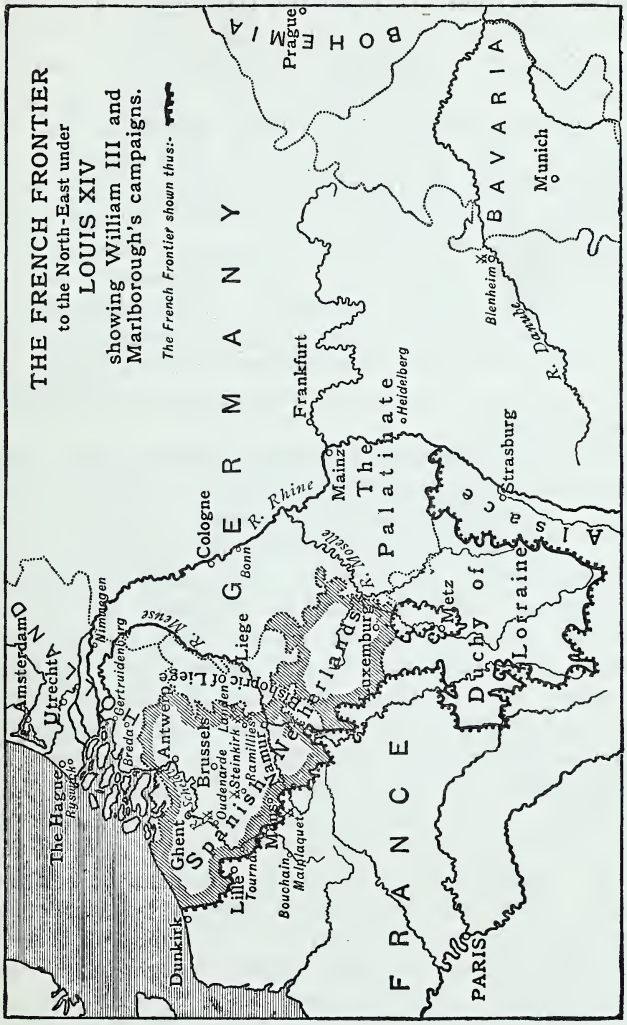
Louis XIV's acceptance of the will would not in itself, however, have produced the war, for, after all, it was his second and not his eldest grandson that succeeded. Other actions of the French king made war inevitable. In the first place, he expelled the Dutch from the Barrier Fortresses, which they garrisoned, and substituted French troops, and thus showed his intention of making a further advance in the Netherlands. Secondly, he expressly reserved the rights of Philip to the French throne. Philip's elder brother was delicate and not expected to live long, and Philip might therefore succeed not only to Spain, but to France as well. Thirdly, he showed by his policy that he was attempting to secure for France the commercial concessions which England had obtained for trade with Spanish America. Finally, on James II's death, in 1701, he recognized James's son—the "Old Pretender" as he is called—as James III, King of England. For Louis XIV, after recognizing William's title at the Peace of Ryswick, to support the Pretender four years later, was the one thing needed to make England as enthusiastic as William for renewed war. The war, therefore, broke out in 1702, but William died before he could take any part in the fighting.

The War of the Spanish Succesion, 1702–13.

To summarize a war which lasted for over ten years, and which was fought in Italy and Germany, in the Netherlands, and in Spain is no easy task. At the opening of the war, England, Holland, Austria, and most of the German States were on one side, and they were joined later by Portugal and Savoy; on the other side were France, Spain, and Bavaria. The great figure in the war, so far as the Allies were concerned, was *John Churchill*, created *Duke of Marlborough*. Born in 1650, he had seen service in Holland as a colonel in the French service during Charles II's reign,[1] had subsequently by his coolness saved the situation at Sedgemoor in that of James II, and had undertaken some very

Marlborough.

[1] Turenne, the French general, is said to have called him "the handsome Englishman", and to have won a bet that Churchill would recover a post with half the number of men who had failed to defend it.



successful operations in the south of Ireland under William III. No one can deny either his avarice or his faithlessness. He deserted James II twice. He betrayed, it is said, the secret of two

expeditions to Louis XIV in William III's reign, and in one year was concerned in two plots against him. He was consequently dismissed from his appointments, and he did not recover favour till towards the close of William's career. Yet, though faithless in his political principles, his military friendship with Prince Eugene, the most famous of the other allied generals, and his political friendship with Godolphin, the English minister at home, showed that in his relations with individuals no one could be a more loyal or more admirable colleague. Moreover, he was not only a great general, but a great diplomatist as well—the best of his age, according to Voltaire. Strikingly handsome, with a manner described by a contemporary as irresistible, he needed all his powers of negotiation during each winter, so that he might induce the Allies to furnish him with adequate forces during the following summer.

His tactics.

As regards Marlborough's tactics, military critics agree in praising the effective use which he made of all arms. He insisted upon accuracy in infantry shooting, and taught all ranks to fire simultaneously and not, as the French did, consecutively. He made the cavalry, after the example set by Rupert and Cromwell, rely on the momentum of their charge rather than on their firing, and he showed great capacity in utilizing them at the critical moment with decisive effect. He handled the artillery with remarkable skill, more especially at Blenheim, where every gun was laid under his own eye. No less praiseworthy was the quickness with which he saw the weakness of an enemy's position; of this quickness the best example was perhaps at Ramillies. As a strategist, Marlborough was superb. Many of his schemes were upset because of the opposition of the Allies, and more especially of the Dutch; but those that he carried into execution show that Marlborough deserves the distinction of being called the greatest general that this country, or, if we may believe Bolingbroke, any other country, has produced. At all events, of hardly any other general can it be said, as it can be said of Marlborough, that he never fought a battle which he did not win, or besieged a place which he did not take.

In order to understand Marlborough's operations, it must be remembered that, at the opening of the war, the French were

in possession of the Spanish Netherlands. Marlborough's earlier campaigns, therefore—with the exception of the greatest of them all, that of Blenheim (1704)—had for their objective the expulsion of the French from the Spanish Netherlands. The later campaigns aimed at the conquest of the French barrier fortresses with a view, finally, to an advance into the interior of France, but the story will show that he was recalled before he could complete his task. The history of the campaigns will be more intelligible if it is realized that the rivers in the Netherlands run in three curves roughly parallel with one another. The outside curve is formed by the Moselle and the Rhine, into which the Moselle falls; then comes the curve formed by the Meuse, and, inside that, the curve of the Scheldt.

Marlborough's objects.

In the first two years of the war (1702–3) no big engagement was fought, but Marlborough succeeded in taking some fortresses and in weakening the position of the French in the valleys of two of these rivers—the Meuse and the Rhine. With 1704 came the first of Marlborough's great campaigns. The position of the Allies was extremely critical. Vienna, the capital of the Austrian dominions, was threatened not only by Hungarian rebels on the east, but by French and Bavarian armies on the west. Marlborough planned a great march from the Netherlands to save Vienna. But his task was complicated. He had to hoodwink the Dutch as to his intentions, for otherwise they would not let him go. He had to make a flank march over difficult country right across the French front. He had to effect a junction with Eugene whilst preventing the junction of all the French armies. And, finally, he had, in order to cross the Danube, to storm a strongly fortified position held by the Bavarians. But he accomplished all these things, and his army and that of Eugene's succeeded in getting between Vienna and the armies of the French.

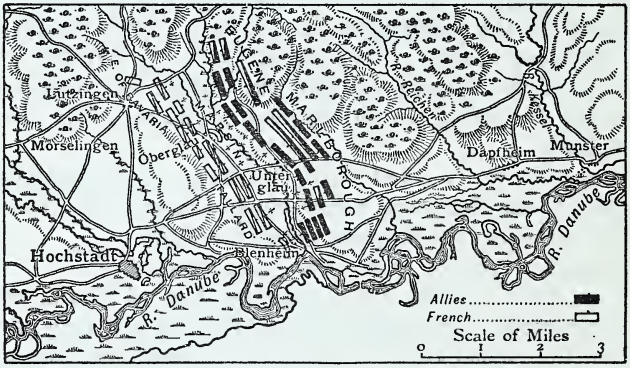
The war, 1702-3.

Blenheim, 1704.

Then followed the *battle of Blenheim.* The French and Bavarians held a strong position behind the River Nebel. Marlborough first sent Lord Cutts[1] to storm the village of Blenheim

[1] Cutts's bravery was famous, and at the siege of Namur in 1695 his coolness in the hottest fire of the French batteries won for him the nickname of "Salamander".

on the French right. But it was strongly held, and Cutts, received at thirty yards with a murderous fire, was repulsed. Meantime Marlborough, seeing the weakness of the French centre, which was held only by cavalry, and finding the marshes which protected the French front passable, began to cross the river with the intention of making his main attack on the centre, whilst Cutts kept up a feint attack on Blenheim, and Eugene attacked the left wing. Marlborough's attack was entirely suc-



Blenheim, Aug. 13th, 1704

cessful; the French centre was pierced, and their right wing then enveloped. By the end of the day Marlborough had one of the two chief French generals in his own coach, and had captured one hundred guns and some eleven thousand prisoners. The Blenheim campaign marks an epoch in history. It saved Vienna; it preserved Germany from a French occupation; it destroyed the impression of French invincibility on land; and it re-established our military prestige, a prestige which had been at times sadly tarnished since the days of Agincourt.

Yet the Blenheim campaign did not exhaust Marlborough's schemes for that year. Marlborough, like William, had realized the importance of the Mediterranean, and had planned a great attack on Toulon by land under the Duke of Savoy and by sea with the English fleet. Unfortunately the Duke of Savoy was unable to make the attack. Our fleet, however, under Rooke,

took *Gibraltar*—not, as it turned out, a matter of much difficulty—and fought a battle off Malaga which, though indecisive, led the French fleet to desist from challenging our position in the Mediterranean.

The next important year is *1706*. First, the French were evicted from Italy in consequence of a great battle won by Eugene near Turin. Then, in the Netherlands, Marlborough won the battle of *Ramillies*. He was threatening the strong fortress of Namur, and the French general had concentrated his forces to protect it. In the battle which ensued Marlborough saw that his troops could move from one flank to another more quickly than the French, as they had the shorter distance to traverse, and there were no marshes to hinder them. Accordingly, he made an attack on one flank, and then, leaving the conspicuous red-coated British on a hill to keep the enemy occupied on that flank, he transferred the more sober-hued Allies behind some hills to the other wing, and won a victory which he followed up with such rapidity, that by the end of the year the French had lost not only Antwerp and Brussels, but nearly the whole of the Spanish Netherlands.

Battle of Ramillies, 1706.

The third success of the Allies in 1706 was won in Spain. Two years previously the Allies had determined to attempt to put the Archduke Charles on the Spanish throne. At first not much was done, but in 1705 Peterborough captured *Barcelona*[1] by a brilliant feat of arms, and occupied Catalonia and Valencia. In 1706 the Allies under Galway marched from Portugal and occupied Madrid, whilst Peterborough and his army marched from the east and effected a junction. Later in the year, however, Madrid had to be evacuated, and the joint army retreated to Valencia. But the year had been so disastrous to Louis XIV, that he offered terms of peace that the Allies would have done well to accept.

The War in Spain, 1705-6.

The year *1707* was a set back to the Allies, as Eugene failed

[1] The evidence for this and other achievements of Peterborough depends upon the *Memoirs* of Captain Carleton, memoirs which were for long accepted as genuine by historians, and which were edited in 1809 by Sir Walter Scott. It has recently been proved, however, that these memoirs are fictitious, and that they were written probably either by Defoe or Swift, and there is good reason for thinking that the credit for the capture of Barcelona really belongs to Peterborough's subordinate officers.

in an attempt to invade France, Marlborough could do nothing in the Netherlands, and in Spain Galway was severely defeated at *Almanza* owing to the flight of the Portuguese contingent, which left the English to contend against a force three times their number. In the following year (*1708*), however, Marlborough won another great victory at *Oudenarde*, which led to the practical completion of the capture of the Spanish Netherlands and also to the capture of Lille, one of the most important of the French barrier fortresses. Moreover, the English captured *Minorca*, and by so doing secured what was most important—a harbour in the Mediterranean in which a fleet could winter; whilst stormy weather led to the failure of a French expedition which was sent up the Firth of Forth to capture Edinburgh. Louis again offered peace, and was prepared to preserve for Philip only Naples and Sicily. The Allies insisted that he should also, if necessary, assist them in expelling Philip from Spain by force. Such a proposal naturally not only infuriated the French king, but the French nation as well, and gave them both fresh energy for the war. And then, in *1709*, came the last and the most costly of Marlborough's victories, *Malplaquet*, and the capture of Mons.

British successes, 1708–9.

Our great series of successes ended with Malplaquet. French enthusiasm revived. The Allies became slack, and a Tory Ministry in favour of peace succeeded to power in Great Britain. This Ministry dismissed Marlborough in 1711, and Ormonde, his successor, was given instructions—which he was to keep secret from the Allies—not to undertake offensive operations.[1] In Spain the Allies, though they managed temporarily to occupy Madrid, were defeated in two battles in *1710*; and the accession in the following year of the Archduke Charles to the Austrian dominions, and his election as

Recovery of France, 1710–13.

[1] This was perhaps the most dishonourable action ever done by a British Government. Ormonde, in obedience to instructions from home, finally withdrew his forces altogether, though there was a brilliant opportunity of defeating the French. "Then the British camp", wrote a contemporary describing the scene, "resounded with curses against the Duke of Ormonde as a stupid tool and general of straw. The colonels, captains, and other brave officers were so overwhelmed with vexation that they sat apart in their tents, looking on the ground for very shame with downcast eyes, and for several days shrank from the sight even of their fellow soldiers."

Emperor, made it absurd for the Allies to go on fighting in order that he might succeed to the Spanish dominions as well.

After long negotiations with France—so tortuous on the part of the Tory Government that they form, it has been said, one of the most shameful pages in our history—a series of treaties was at last signed at *Utrecht* in *1713*.[1] By these treaties Philip kept Spain and the New World, but was excluded from the succession to the French throne. The Emperor Charles was given the Spanish dominions in Italy and the Netherlands. The Dutch were allowed to garrison the Barrier Fortresses. With regard to Great Britain, the Protestant succession was recognized. She obtained from France Newfoundland (leaving to the French certain fishing rights which were the cause later of many difficulties) and Nova Scotia, and from Spain Gibraltar and Minorca, thereby establishing her position in that sea which has been called the "keyboard" of Europe. Spain also gave to Great Britain the monopoly of the slave trade with Spanish America—not then regarded as either inhuman or wicked—and the right to send one ship a year to Porto Bello in the Spanish Main.

The Treaty of Utrecht, 1713.

Great Britain had therefore gained her original objects in going to war. She had made, moreover, very important additions to her Empire; and there is some truth, if also some exaggeration, in the verdict of an historian that if at the Armada England entered the race for colonial expansion, she won it at the Treaty of Utrecht. Englishmen must remember, however, to their shame that the people of Catalonia, who had fought stanchly and bravely for the Allies throughout the war, were left to the vengeance of Philip—and a terrible vengeance it proved to be.

[1] Treaties were signed between France, Spain, Holland, and England at Utrecht in 1713, but the treaty between France and Austria was made in the following year at Rastadt.

XXXIV. Domestic Affairs, 1689-1714

1. England

Before proceeding with our review of foreign policy, we must turn to affairs at home, for in our domestic as well as in our foreign policy the Revolution of 1688 is very important. The great result of the Revolution upon our system of government was that henceforth the bulk of the king's revenue was obtained by *annual* grants from Parliament, and that Parliament had therefore to meet every year. As a consequence, Parliament acquired the complete control of finance, and, with that, an increasing control of the administration. Gradually, also, the relation between the two Houses of Parliament underwent alteration. The House of Commons has had, since 1407, the sole power to initiate Bills involving the grant of public money or the imposition of taxation, and in the reign of Charles II it denied the right of the House of Lords to amend such Bills. Consequently, with the increasing control of Parliament in financial affairs, the Lower House became the more important; though, as we shall see, individual members of the Upper House could, up till 1832, largely influence the composition of the House of Commons.

Parliament and the control of finance.

Moreover, as the result of the Revolution, two Acts were passed, the one at the beginning of William and Mary's and the other at the end of William's reign, which limited the power of the Crown. The *Declaration* or *Bill of Rights*, which was drawn up and passed through Parliament in 1689, completed the work which Magna Carta had begun. Its clauses may be briefly summarized. First, William and Mary were declared to be king and queen, and the succession to the throne was settled upon their children, and, failing them, upon James's other daughter, Anne; and a clause was added that no person who was a Roman Catholic or who married a Roman Catholic could succeed to the throne.[1] Secondly, it

The Bill of Rights, 1689.

[1] It has been calculated that this clause has taken away the eventual claims to the succession of nearly sixty persons.

declared to be illegal: (*a*) the "pretended power" of the Crown to suspend laws; (*b*) the power of dispensing with laws "as it hath been exercised of late" by the Crown; (*c*) the existence of the Court of High Commission and similar courts; (*d*) the maintenance of a standing army—the army was, however, authorized by another Bill, called the Mutiny Bill, which had to be re-passed every year.[1] Thirdly, Parliament was to be freely elected, to have freedom of speech and to meet frequently, and there was to be no taxation without its consent. Fourthly, excessive fines were not to be imposed, and subjects might petition the king.

The second measure was the *Act of Settlement*, passed in 1701. The first question to be arranged was that of the succession, for William and Mary were childless and all the children of the Princess Anne had died.[2] The Protestant representative of the House of Stuart who had the best claim was Sophia, the granddaughter of James I (her mother was Elizabeth who married the Elector Palatine) and the wife of the Elector of Hanover. The crown was accordingly settled upon "the most excellent Princess Sophia, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants". With regard to the other clauses in the Act of Settlement, some were inserted because of William's personal unpopularity and because of the jealousy felt with regard to his foreign policy at that time. Thus the monarch was not to leave the kingdom without the consent of Parliament, and England was not to be obliged to engage in wars for the foreign possessions of the Crown. But these articles were soon modified or repealed. Other clauses are, however, of permanent importance. Judges were to hold office, not at the king's pleasure, but *quamdiu se bene gesserint*—as long as they behaved themselves—and hence were no longer under the king's influence. No pardon by the Crown could be pleaded to an impeachment by the House of Commons —a clause which finally established the responsibility of the king's ministers for all acts of state.

Act of Settlement, 1701.

Though the Crown still continued to select the ministers, and,

[1] It is now replaced by the Army (Annual) Act.

[2] Of her numerous children all died in infancy, except the Duke of Gloucester, who died in 1700 when nearly eleven years of age. He appears to have been a promising boy, and eight months before his death he celebrated Queen Elizabeth's birthday in high spirits, "firing all his guns and making great rejoicing".

in William's reign at all events, to control the Home and Foreign politics of the country, the Revolution had secured, therefore, for the individual Englishman his political liberty and for the Parliament which represented him complete control of taxation and, subject to the king's veto, of legislation. In two other respects the Revolution had important effects. Hitherto all publications had, under an annual *Licensing Act*, been subject to a rigorous censorship.[1] In 1695 the House of Commons decided not to renew the Act, and thus was secured the Liberty of the Press for which half a century previously Milton had ardently pleaded—though that liberty was still somewhat curtailed by the severity of the laws of Libel[2] and by heavy stamp duties upon newspapers. Secondly, something was done to make religious restrictions less severe. By the *Toleration Act* (1689), liberty of worship was allowed to those who could subscribe to thirty-six of the thirty-nine Articles in the Book of Common Prayer, i.e. practically all except Roman Catholics and Unitarians. But the Nonconformists were still excluded from office under the Test and Corporation Acts passed in the reign of Charles II. The Toleration Act marked, nevertheless, a great advance, and from that time the feeling of tolerance steadily increased. After the accession of the House of Hanover in the eighteenth century an Act was annually passed excusing the Nonconformists from the penalties which they had incurred for holding any office. Complete toleration to all sects, including Roman Catholics, was not however to come till the nineteenth century.[3]

Liberty of the Press, 1695.

The Toleration Act, 1689.

We must now say something about the details of the domestic history. William and Mary established their position with greater ease than might have been expected. The death of Dundee

[1] In Charles II's reign printing was confined to London, York, and the two Universities, and the number of "master-printers" was only twenty. All new works had to be examined and licensed before they were published.

[2] These libel laws were mitigated by an Act passed in 1792.

[3] Though the Nonconformists obtained toleration, severe laws continued to be passed against the Roman Catholics. Thus in 1699 a law was passed rendering any priest liable to perpetual imprisonment for celebrating Mass; and a friar named Atkinson, who was convicted through the evidence of his serving-maid—she was rewarded with a gift of £100—was imprisoned for thirty years at Hurst Castle, finally dying there in 1729 at the age of seventy-three. But these vindictive laws were not as a rule enforced by the Government, and the Roman Catholics, as a whole, were allowed to have their worship undisturbed.

at the Battle of Killiecrankie (p. 433) and the flight of James to France after the Battle of the Boyne (p. 434) led to the submission of Scotland and Ireland. In England itself there was surprisingly little opposition. One of the Archbishops, four bishops and four hundred other clergymen, known as the Non-jurors, refused to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, and consequently were deprived of their benefices—and that was all. Yet, though there was little opposition, there was also little loyalty to the new sovereigns. Statesmen and warriors were alike faithless. Danby, who was the chief minister for five years, Marlborough, the general, and Russell, the victor of the Battle of La Hogue, all intrigued with James whilst holding high office under William and Anne. Parliaments were often unfriendly, and there was one plot against William's life.[1]

Lack of loyalty to William and Mary.

No doubt Englishmen ought to have been grateful for the benefits of the Revolution, but perhaps their want of loyalty to William and Mary is not altogether surprising. The king himself was interested in foreign politics alone. England was to him merely a factor in his war with France; "he had", as a contemporary said, "to take England on his way to France". His individual opinions, moreover, were not likely to make him popular. In religion he was a Calvinist, and he was therefore distrusted by that very powerful party, the High Church party in the Church of England. In politics, though the Tory opposition to the war compelled him in 1695 to depend for a time upon a Whig ministry—the Whig Junto, as it was called—yet for the greater part of his reign he tried to ignore parties, and to rule with ministries drawn impartially from Whigs and Tories; as a consequence, he obtained the hearty support of neither party. Nor was William's personality an attractive one. Diminutive in stature, thin and fragile-looking, his appearance was only redeemed by the brightness and keenness of his eyes. His manner was cold and repellent, and his habits unsociable;[2] and the few friends that he possessed were all

Characters of William and Mary.

[1] The idea was to kill the king in a narrow lane near Turnham Green, as he was returning from his usual Saturday hunt; but the plot was discovered.

[2] "He spoke little and very shortly," said a contemporary, "and most commonly with a disgusting dryness." Long and solitary hunting expeditions in the New Forest were his only recreation, and he disliked conversation and all indoor games.

Dutchmen. Moreover, his health was wretched, and inclined to make him irascible and peevish. William had none of the outwardly attractive qualities which would have secured the affection of his English subjects; and they failed to do justice to the magnanimity which he showed in dealing with his enemies, his patience and calmness in times of crisis, or the unwearying industry which he displayed in public affairs. Mary, on the other hand, was an affable, kind-hearted, genial queen; it was a saying at the time that "she talked as much as William thought, or her sister, the Princess Anne, ate".[1] Mary's death, in 1694, was consequently a great blow to William's position, and after that his unpopularity steadily increased.

The Opposition to William after 1697.

After the conclusion of the war with France, in 1697, opposition to William's policy came to a head. A *Tory* Parliament attacked—with some reason—the enormous tracts of land which the king had granted to his Dutch favourites in Ireland. Moreover, a standing army was still very unpopular, and Parliament insisted—with great stupidity—upon reducing the armed forces in England to seven thousand men. Then, again, Parliament was jealous of his foreign policy, and consequently passed those clauses in the Act of Settlement to which reference has already been made. William, indeed, was so worried by the Opposition that he seriously thought of resigning his crown, and had even drafted a proclamation for that purpose. Englishmen, in truth, were somewhat ignorant of foreign politics; and the greatness of the work accomplished by William, not only for England, but for Europe, was never realized. The king, however, had the satisfaction before his death of feeling that the nation was strongly supporting him in the War of the Spanish Succession, the opening of which he just lived to see (1702).

Financial Features of Reign.

Two features in our National Finance make their appearance during the reigns of William and Mary. The first was the *National Debt*, which dates from 1693. By 1697 it had reached £20,000,000; by 1713, £78,000,000; and by 1815 it was to rise to the stupendous total of

[1] Pepys, the Diarist, saw Mary as "a little child in hanging sleeves dance most finely, so as almost to ravish one". When only fifteen and a half years old the announcement was made to her that she was to marry William, "whereupon she wept all that afternoon and the following day"; but she proved herself a most devoted wife.

£840,000,000. The other was the *Bank of England*, which was founded in 1694, and which in the course of its history has gone through many crises.[1] But amongst the most important of all the changes made at this time was the *restoration*, in 1695, *of the currency*; the old money, which was much worn, and was often "clipped" round the edges, was called in, and a new coinage was issued, whose milled edges made clipping impossible in the future.

The Princess Anne succeeded to the throne, under the terms of the Bill of Rights, on William's death, in 1702. The story of the great War of the Spanish Succession, which was waged during her reign, has been already told. The Union with Scotland (1707)— perhaps the most important result of her reign—will be discussed later. The history of the domestic politics whilst Anne was queen remains to be narrated. Two features deserve special notice. One is the fierceness of the party strife, especially towards the close of the reign, when it extended even to the ladies of the two parties, who, it is said, patched upon different sides of their faces, and had different designs upon their fans. It is to the struggle over the Exclusion Bill in Charles II's reign that these two great parties, known as Whigs and Tories— nicknames given to those parties by their respective opponents—owe their origin, and in Anne's reign the differences between them were sharply defined. The Whigs were in favour of Toleration, whilst the Tories were strong upholders of the Church of England, and were jealous even of the liberties which the Dissenters had recently acquired under the Toleration Act. The Whigs upheld the constitutional government that had developed as a result of the Revolution, but the Tories still had ideas of divine right and passive obedience. The Whigs supported the War of the Spanish Succession; the Tories, on the other hand, in the earlier stages of the war, wished it to be chiefly maritime, and in the later stages were opposed to it altogether. Finally, whilst all the Whigs were in favour of the succession, on

The reign of Queen Anne, 1702–14.

Whigs and Tories.

[1] As, for instance, in the Jacobite rising of 1745, when there was a run on the Bank, which only saved itself by causing as much delay as possible, and paying out in sixpences; or again in a commercial crisis in 1826, when the Bank owed its solvency to the fortunate discovery of a large number of bank notes of whose existence the governors had been ignorant.

Anne's death, of the Electress Sophia of Hanover and her son George, many of the Tories favoured James II's son.

The other feature to be noticed in Anne's reign is the close connection between politics and literature. In those days the reporting of speeches in Parliament was forbidden, whilst the age of public meetings had not begun. But the increased interest that was being taken in public questions and the increased importance of Parliament made it necessary for the rival parties to influence the country; and this was done through the papers and pamphlets of the great literary men of the period. Thus *Addison*, a Whig and the editor of the *Spectator*, eventually became a Secretary of State, though he never opened his mouth in the House of Commons; whilst *Swift*, a Tory and a clergyman, composed pamphlets which had enormous political influence, and, when towards the end of Anne's reign the Tory party was in power, used to dine every week with the two leaders of the Government, in order to assist in formulating their policy.

Politics and literature.

There were two ministries during Anne's reign. The first was under the leadership of *Godolphin*, who was in close alliance with Marlborough. Of the latter something has been said already. Of the former Charles II once remarked that "little Sidney Godolphin was never in the way and never out of the way". He seems to have been a shrewd statesman, though his personality has left curiously little impression. At first the members of the Government were drawn from both parties, but the growing hostility of the Tories to the war led to the ministry becoming increasingly, and in 1708 completely, of a Whig complexion. Godolphin's ministry has justly been called "one of the most glorious in English history", for under its rule occurred the great achievements of Marlborough and of Peterborough, the captures of Gibraltar and Minorca, and the Union with Scotland.

Godolphin's ministry, 1702–1710.

Godolphin's Ministry came to an abrupt termination in 1710. The causes were many. The war was becoming unpopular, and it was urged with some force that Great Britain should have accepted the terms of peace offered by Louis XIV in 1706, and the still more favourable offers of 1709.

Causes of its fate.

Moreover, Marlborough was ambitious to be made Captain-General of the British forces for life—an ambition which frightened Englishmen into thinking that he wished to be a second Cromwell and which therefore brought unpopularity on the Whig ministers though they had not supported the proposal.

Then, again, the queen became hostile to the ministry. Though she was a person of no intellectual attainments, and appears to have had little influence in the actual administration of her Government, she was extremely popular with all classes for her kindness of heart, and because, as she said of herself, she was "perfectly English".[1] She disliked a purely Whig ministry, and she could not forgive the Whigs for their attacks upon her husband, Prince George of Denmark, whilst he was alive, or for their suggestion, soon after his death, that she should take thoughts of a second husband. Moreover, the queen was very subject to the influence of those of her own sex. For some time the influence of the Duchess of Marlborough had been supreme. The duchess was a very self-willed, masterful, and somewhat quarrelsome lady; about 1708 she quarrelled with the queen, as she did subsequently with her son-in-law, her granddaughter, and even her doctors.[2] Mrs. Masham, who had strong Tory connections, succeeded to the first place in the queen's affections, and the change was ominous for Godolphin's ministry.

Queen Anne.

Above all, Anne was a strong supporter of the Church of England; and it was the cry of "the Church in danger" that finally brought about the downfall of the Whigs. A certain Doctor Sacheverell, whose chief recommendations to favour were a fine presence and a good voice, preached a sermon before the Lord Mayor, in which he advocated Passive Obedience, said that the Church was in danger

The Sacheverell trial.

[1] The queen had no taste for literature and music, and for some years never heard even her own band play. But she was fond of hunting, and in her later years used to follow the stag-hunt in Windsor Forest in an open chaise drawn by one horse, "which she drives herself", wrote Swift, "and drives furiously, like Jehu".

[2] The duchess got a portrait of her granddaughter, blackened its face, and hung it up with the inscription: "She is much blacker within". In 1740 she had lain a great while ill, without speaking. Her physicians said: "She must be blistered, or she will die." She then called out: "I won't be blistered, and I won't die." And, as a matter of fact, she was not blistered, and she did not die—till four years later.

of schism, and attacked the ministers, calling them amongst other things "wiley Volpones", in allusion to a nickname of Godolphin. The Government was foolish enough to take notice of the sermon and impeached the doctor. There was great popular excitement. The queen, on her journey to the trial at Westminster Hall, was greeted with shouts of "We hope Your Majesty is for the Church and Doctor Sacheverell". Sacheverell became a popular hero and was acclaimed by cheering mobs, and after the trial was over—as a result of which he was sentenced to a light punishment[1]—he had a triumphal progress through the provinces on his way to Shropshire.[2] The queen then took action. The Whigs were dismissed and the Tories were called to office. Parliament was dissolved and in the new House of Commons there was a large Tory majority.

The Tory ministry lasted for the remainder of the queen's reign. Its leaders were *Harley*, who became *Earl of Oxford*, and *St. John*, who became *Viscount Bolingbroke*. The former was a man of considerable personal courage and a great patron of literature—his famous collection of manuscripts, now in possession of the British Museum, is priceless. But as a politician he was irresolute in his decisions and dilatory in their execution. He was shifty in his dealings with his Tory colleagues, and not infrequently intrigued with his political opponents. He has been called the "mole" in the politics of that day, because he was always burrowing. Bolingbroke has been described as a "brilliant knave". No one will deny his brilliancy. Swift said that he was the greatest young man he knew. Pope went further and declared him to be the greatest man in the world, whilst Pitt said that he would rather recover one of his speeches than "all the

Tory ministry, 1710-14; Harley and St. John.

[1] He was forbidden to preach for three years—a possibly agreeable punishment. Dr. Sacheverell received £100 from an enterprising publisher for the first sermon which he preached after the three years were over, and 30,000 copies of it were printed.

[2] The Sacheverell case is interesting as being one of the earliest political movements in which ladies took an active share, and the ladies were enthusiastic admirers of the doctor. "Matters of government and affairs of State", wrote a contemporary, "are become the province of the ladies. They have hardly leisure to live, little time to eat and sleep, and none at all to say their prayers." The Duchess of Marlborough, however, did not agree with her own sex in the matter—she described Sacheverell as an "ignorant and impudent incendiary".

gaps in Greek and Roman lore". His style provided a model for Gibbon the historian, and his political ideas were not without their influence upon statesmen who lived so recently as Disraeli. His knavery is more open to doubt, but it is unquestionable that his actions and policy were not so disinterested and straightforward as he makes them out to be.[1] Bolingbroke was impetuous, and a strong party man; and he soon supplanted Harley in the affections of the Tories. "Members", said Bolingbroke of the House of Commons, "grow fond like hounds of the man who shows them sport, and by whose holloa they are wont to be encouraged." And Harley was too fond of running with the hare to be able to cheer on his followers.

Measures of ministry.

The Tory ministers proceeded to secure the objects which their supporters had most at heart. They tried to strengthen the Church and to weaken the Nonconformists by passing the *Occasional Conformity* (1711) and the *Schism Acts* (1714). The first Act was directed against the habit of the Nonconformists of qualifying for office by taking the Communion every now and again in an Anglican Church, and thus evading the Test and Corporation Acts; the second Act tried to deprive the Nonconformists of their hold upon education by forbidding anyone to teach without a licence from a bishop. To make the war unpopular Swift's genius was employed in the composition of pamphlets such as "The Conduct of the Allies", and Marlborough himself was dismissed from his employments, accused of peculation, and attacked with such violence that he left the country. The war, conducted half-heartedly for a year or two, was terminated in 1713 by the Treaty of Utrecht.

The succession question.

Then came the question of the *Succession to the throne.* The peaceful succession of the House of Hanover has been called the "greatest miracle in our history"; if it was not that, it was undoubtedly at one time unlikely. The mass of the country was probably Tory in sentiment, and would have preferred a Stuart, especially as the Electress Sophia of Hanover and her son George, if not unpopular, were

[1] "Ah, Harry," his father is reported to have said to him after he went to the House of Lords, "I always said you would be hanged, but now you are made a peer, I suppose you'll be beheaded."

completely unknown in England.[1] Men known to be supporters of the Stuart succession were put into positions of trust by the ministry, the Earl of Mar, for instance, being given control of Scotland, and the Duke of Ormonde being made Warden of the Cinque Ports. Two things, however, prevented the continuance of the House of Stuart on the throne of England. In the first place, the Old Pretender—and it was greatly to his credit—refused either to change or to dissemble his Roman Catholic religion.[2] Consequently in England the Tories found themselves torn between their affection for the Anglican Church and their allegiance to the Stuart dynasty, and Scotsmen between their romantic loyalty to that dynasty and their devotion to the Protestant religion.

In the second place, Anne died too soon. There were dissensions between the Tory leaders, but Bolingbroke managed to get rid of Harley, who was dismissed from the ministry. It is uncertain what Bolingbroke really intended, but it is probable that he was working for the succession of the Old Pretender. Events, however, moved too quickly for him. Two days after Harley's dismissal Anne fell very seriously ill. A council meeting was summoned to discuss the situation. Two Whig dukes who were Privy Councillors suddenly entered the meeting and, as they were legally entitled to do, took part in the discussion. As a result, it was resolved that the Treasurer's staff—the symbol of authority—should be given to Shrewsbury, a moderate Whig, and Anne, on her deathbed, gave it to him. On Anne's death, whilst the plans of Bolingbroke were still undeveloped, George I, through Shrewsbury's influence, was proclaimed king (the Electress Sophia being dead). "The Earl of Oxford was removed on Tuesday, the Queen died on Sunday", wrote Bolingbroke. "What a world is this, and how does Fortune banter us!" Had the queen lived six months, or even six weeks, longer, our history might have been very different.

[1] Of course by the Act of Settlement the Princess Sophia was the successor to the throne, but Queen Anne, beyond inserting her name in the Liturgy, did nothing to recognize her claim, and never invited the princess to England or gave her a title.

[2] "Plain dealing", he wrote, "is best in all things and especially in matters of religion; and as I am resolved never to dissemble in religion, so I shall never tempt others to do it, and as well as I am satisfied of the truth of my own religion, yet I shall never look worse upon any persons, because in this they chance to differ from me."

2. Scotland

How Ireland fared after the Revolution of 1688 is told in a later chapter, but events so important to Scotland occurred subsequent to that Revolution, that something must be said about them at this stage. The condition of Scotland on William III's accession was deplorable. It was rent by religious feuds. There was little wealth and few industries, and every bad harvest produced a famine. In the south the Lowlands were exposed to the anarchy of the border district between England and Scotland. In the north the Lowlands suffered from the depredations of the Highlanders, and even as late as 1747 it was reckoned that £5000 worth of cattle were annually "lifted", whilst another £5000 was paid by various owners to save their cattle from that fate. The Highlands were in a barbarous condition; the chief had almost supreme authority over the members of his clan;[1] and plunder, it has been said, was at once "the passion, the trade, and the romance of the Highlander".[2] In the more northern parts the rooms had no chimneys, the horses dragged carts by their tails, whilst candles, potatoes, and iron (except for weapons) were unknown luxuries.

Condition of Scotland in 1689.

The reigns of William and Mary and of Anne mark the beginning of a happier and more prosperous period for Scotland. One fearful atrocity, it is true, was committed. The Battle of Killiecrankie and the death of Dundee (1689) did not at once terminate hostilities, and some of the clans still refused to recognize the new sovereigns. At last a proclamation was issued, promising pardon to all who took an oath of allegiance to the new Government before the last day of 1691. Only two chiefs had not taken the oath by the appointed day, and of these, one, Macdonald of Glencoe, merely failed because he had made it a point of honour to delay till the last possible moment, and had then gone to the wrong place to take the oath.

The Glencoe massacre.

[1] Some chiefs had a private executioner of their own; and the town of Perth, in 1707, sent a request to Lord Drummond for the occasional use of his executioner—a request which was very courteously granted.

[2] To "lift" cattle, especially at Michaelmas time, when they were fat, was of course a very profitable enterprise; and Highlanders, according to a contemporary, before starting on an expedition, "prayed as earnestly to heaven as if they were engaged in the most laudable enterprise".

The Campbells, the mortal foes of the Macdonalds, persuaded the Government to make a signal example of the people of Glencoe. Troops were sent there, who, after being entertained by the Macdonalds for a fortnight, suddenly made an attack upon them and brutally murdered the chief and thirty-seven of his clan (1692).

The condition of Scotland, however, rapidly improved after the Revolution of 1688. The Bank of Scotland, founded in 1695, was an incentive to trade; the Habeas Corpus Act, passed in 1701, and similar to that passed in England thirty years before, protected the liberty of the individual. But to three things, above all, did Scotland owe her prosperity. In the first place, Presbyterianism, the religion of the great majority, was made, in 1689, the established religion, whilst the Episcopalians, who believed in the rule of bishops, obtained toleration in 1712. Hence Scotland obtained what she most needed — the cessation of religious strife. Secondly, a law was passed in 1696 establishing schools in every parish. Though ignored in some parts of Scotland, this law had great results, and the two centuries of education which Scotland has enjoyed account for the intellectual superiority of its inhabitants.

Causes of improvement.

Thirdly, the Union between England and Scotland was achieved in 1707. There had been great difficulties in the way. English merchants did not wish to give commercial concessions or English Churchmen to recognize Presbyterianism. Scotland was legitimately proud of her nationality and had no wish to have her individuality absorbed in that of England. And, moreover, Scotland attributed to English jealousy—not without reason—the failure of an attempt made by her merchants in William III's reign to develop a trade in the South Seas at the Isthmus of Darien. After long negotiations, however, the Union was at last completed. By its terms Scotland was allowed forty-five members in the House of Commons and sixteen peers in the House of Lords; she contributed one-fortieth to the Land Tax and was paid nearly £400,000 for sharing in the English National Debt. Scotland was to preserve her own Law Courts, whilst a separate Act secured her Presbyterian religion. Above all, perfectly free trade was established between England and Scotland, and Scotland was allowed to trade

The Union between England and Scotland, 1707.

with the colonies. Scotland was at last given her industrial opportunity. Scottish towns, and especially Glasgow, grew with amazing rapidity, whilst Scottish shipping and manufactures proved formidable rivals to the shippers and manufacturers of England. Moreover, no one who travels round the world at the present time can fail to realize the immense share Scotsmen have had in developing the trade and the prosperity of every part of the British Empire.

Yet the Union was not popular for some time. In Scotland, during the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745, one of the cries was for the abolition of the Union. In England the Scots were long unpopular. At the beginning of George III's reign Bute's Scottish ancestry was one of the causes of his great unpopularity when Prime Minister, whilst Macbeth was hissed off the stage when he appeared as a Scot in Highland costume. But gradually the national prejudices faded away, and the natives of both countries learnt to appreciate the immense advantages each derived from the Union. Henceforth the histories of England and Scotland are linked together.

XXXV. Foreign Affairs and the Empire, 1714–63

With the accession of George I our foreign politics were affected by a new influence. George I and his successors—till the accession of Queen Victoria—were not only Kings of England, but Electors of Hanover. Englishmen are perhaps apt to regard Hanover, in the elder Pitt's words, as a "despicable German Electorate"; but in reality it was amongst the foremost of German States, and had important naval positions in the North Sea. The devotion which George I and George II felt for Hanover increased the complications and difficulties of our foreign policy during their rule; and there was always a danger of Great Britain being drawn into wars to protect Hanoverian interests. Indeed, very soon after George I

The influence of Hanover.

came to the throne, demonstrations, which were made by the British fleet to further the ambitions of Hanover, nearly produced a war, first with Sweden, and then with Russia.

War, however, was averted, and for twenty-six years after the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht—from 1713 to 1739—Great Britain enjoyed a period of repose. Both France and Great Britain wished to uphold the Treaty of Utrecht, and for a great part of this period each country was ruled by a peace-loving minister, *Walpole* being chief minister in Great Britain from 1721–42, and *Fleury* being responsible for French policy from 1720–29. Hence not only were there no hostilities, but even at times an alliance or informal co-operation between these two powers—a very unusual state of affairs in the eighteenth century.

British relations with France.

On the other hand, the rulers of Austria and Spain were dissatisfied with the Treaty of Utrecht. Our chief difficulties were with *Spain*. In 1718, Great Britain prevented her from obtaining possession of Sicily by demolishing her fleet off *Cape Passaro*;[1] whilst, in 1725 an alliance which Spain had made with Austria, in the hope of recovering Gibraltar and Minorca, was checkmated by a counter-alliance between Great Britain and France. A few years later trade controversies with Spain became acute. The Spaniards jealously tried to exclude all other nations from trading with their enormous possessions in South America, though they failed to develop the trade on their own account. But British ships did a great deal of illicit trade with Spanish America, especially through the solitary British ship which under the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht was allowed to be sent there annually. This ship, whilst in the Spanish port, was emptied of its cargo each day, and refilled under cover of night by small boats from other ships outside the harbour.

Great Britain and Spain, 1714–39.

The Spaniards, not unnaturally incensed at these proceedings,

[1] The Spanish fleet of eighteen sail was utterly destroyed by an English fleet of twenty-one sail under Admiral Byng. Part of the Spanish fleet fled, and took refuge inshore. A Captain Walton was sent with some ships in pursuit, and his dispatch announcing his success was the shortest on record. It is said to have run as follows: "Sir, we have taken and destroyed all the Spanish ships which were upon the coast: the number as per margin. Respectfully, &c., G. Walton."

had retaliated by searching on the high seas British ships whose destination might be Spanish America, and treating British sailors with great brutality. Consequently, British feeling was roused, and the politicians opposed to Walpole, then the chief minister, thinking they had got a good party cry, took care to fan the indignation. Finally, anger reached boiling-point when a certain Captain Jenkins produced his ear in a bottle before the House of Commons, and asserted that it had been cut off by the Spaniards. He was asked "what his feelings were when he found himself in the hands of such barbarians", and he answered in words which were probably suggested to him beforehand, but which had the effect desired by the opposition of stimulating patriotic fervour: "I commended my soul to my God, and my cause to my country."[1] Walpole, unable to withstand popular opinion, after futile negotiations with Spain, declared war in 1739.

Jenkins's ear.

The year 1739 ushered in a new and prolonged period of conflict. The war with Spain, somewhat discreditable to our honour in its origin, was discreditable to our arms in its conduct. An attempt on Cartagena, in Spanish America, was a miserable failure, and our only success was a voyage round the world undertaken by Anson, who captured an enormous amount of treasure on the west coast of South America.[2]

The war with Spain, 1739.

But meanwhile, in 1740, another Succession War broke out. This had to do with Austria. Charles VI, the emperor and ruler of the vast Austrian dominions—known to us already, in the Spanish Succession War, as the Archduke Charles—had one child, a daughter, Maria Theresa. He persuaded nearly all the European powers to recognize an arrangement known as the *Pragmatic Sanction*, by

The Austrian Succession War, 1740–8.

[1] It has been doubted whether Jenkins ever really lost an ear at all, or, if he did, it has been asserted that he lost it in an English pillory. According to Jenkins's story, the ear had been cut off in 1731 by a ferocious Spanish captain, by name Fandino, who was himself captured by a British frigate eleven years later after a desperate resistance.

[2] Anson succeeded in capturing the great treasure-ship that sailed every year from Manila to Acapulco. The treasure he secured, worth some £500,000, was paraded through the city, on its way to the Bank of England, in a procession of thirty-two wagons, the ship's company marching alongside with colours flying and band playing.

which, in spite of the custom which forbade succession to females, this daughter was to inherit his dominions. But on Charles's death, in 1740, the Elector of Bavaria, with some show of reason, claimed the Austrian dominions. The King of France supported him, and sent two armies across the Rhine. Meanwhile Frederick II, who had just succeeded to the Prussian throne, and was to prove himself a great if somewhat unscrupulous monarch, disregarded his promise to Charles to recognize his daughter, and seized Silesia, which belonged to Austria.

Feelings of chivalry impelled Great Britain to assist Maria Theresa. Moreover, the Electors of Hanover were traditional allies of the House of Hapsburg, and therefore George II was her keen supporter. Hence, once again, England and France, though they did not declare formal war till 1744, found themselves engaged in hostilities. The military operations in which we took part were at the outset somewhat complicated and not very interesting. It is sufficient to say that the position of Maria Theresa was at first very precarious, but that the loyalty of her subjects, and especially of the Hungarians, saved her.

Then *Carteret* became, on Walpole's resignation in 1742, responsible for our foreign policy. A gifted man, with great knowledge of European politics, and with the advantage, rare at that time, of being able to talk fluently in German, he belongs to the small number—perhaps fortunately small—of foreign secretaries who wished Great Britain to play a large part in Continental politics. He succeeded, first, in negotiating a peace between Frederick and Maria Theresa, by which Prussia withdrew from the struggle, and then in combining nearly all the German powers, with the exception of Prussia, against France. An army composed of English and Hanoverians, under the command of Lord Stair and accompanied by George II himself, was directed to evict the French from Germany. But the army soon found itself in an apparently hopeless position at *Dettingen*, with no food, with the river Main on one flank and impenetrable mountains and forests on the other, whilst its advance and retreat were covered by French forces. Fortunately the French left their strong position, and the British were able to make a decisive charge and snatch

Carteret's policy, 1742-4.

Dettingen, 1743.

a victory from the jaws of defeat.[1] As a consequence the French troops retired from Germany, and the situation was relieved.

The coalition of German powers, however, soon broke up. Prussia again took up arms against Austria, and Carteret, owing to his unpopularity at home, retired from office. Meanwhile, a French force of 80,000 men, under the famous Marshal Saxe, invaded the Austrian Netherlands; and, despite the efforts of the British, it was everywhere victorious. In 1745 the British were defeated at *Fontenoy*, though the infantry won great glory by a magnificent charge, which was finally checked by the Irish Brigade serving in the French army. In the same year the rising of the Young Pretender (see p. 484) led to the withdrawal of the British troops from the Continent. The French proceeded to occupy nearly the whole of the Austrian Netherlands, and when the British returned two years later they met with no success.

Fontenoy, 1745.

The war was ended in 1748 by the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*. Maria Theresa was left in possession of the Austrian dominions, including the Austrian Netherlands, though Prussia kept Silesia; otherwise no change of importance took place. The war, however, so far as Great Britain and France were concerned, was not merely European. The French took Madras in India. We took Louisburg, the great port of Cape Breton Island, the Gibraltar, as it has been called, of the New World. These two places were exchanged at the peace. Concerning the right of search, the original cause of the war with Spain, nothing was said at all.

Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748.

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle settled nothing permanently. It was only a truce, and a few years later, in 1756, a mightier war was to break out—the Seven Years' War. The rival ambitions of Great Britain and France in America and in India had to be adjusted—and the sword alone could do that. Something has already been said about our colonies in North America. The British colonies—

The British and French in North America.

[1] George II's horse, frightened by the crackle of musketry, ran away with him at the beginning of the battle; the king, therefore, fought during the remainder of the time on foot, saying that he could trust his legs not to run away with him. He behaved with the utmost bravery, encouraging his soldiers: "Steady, my boys; fire, my brave boys, give them fire; they will soon run." In honour of the victory, Handel composed a Te Deum.

thirteen in number—stretched along the shores of the Atlantic. To the north of them lay the French possession of Canada, to the south and west of them French Louisiana. The French ambitions were brilliant in conception. Just as in our own times the French desired a sphere of influence that would stretch



from the east to the west of Africa, so in the eighteenth century they wished to join Louisiana and Canada by occupying the land behind and to the west of the British settlements. At first sight the French ambitions might seem absurd; for the French colonists in Canada only numbered some 60,000, and the English colonists were nearly a million and a half. But the French settlements were compact, whilst those of the English were

scattered. The French colony was united, and autocratically governed by capable French officials. The thirteen English colonies, on the other hand, were entirely separate in government, and often ill-disposed to one another; and all attempts to combine them for joint action had hitherto been complete failures. Moreover river valleys favoured the French designs. Throw a cork into the River Alleghany at its source near Lake Erie, and it will eventually find its way—if it meets with no obstacles—by the River Ohio and the Mississippi, to the Gulf of Mexico. Mountains—the Alleghany Mountains—on the other hand, interposed a natural barrier to the British expansion westward.

After the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle events moved fast in America. The French seemed likely to achieve their ambitions. South of Montreal they had already built, on the shores of Lake Champlain, two forts at *Crown Point* and at *Ticonderoga*. They now developed the building of a line of forts from north to south to secure the river valleys. Meantime the British, owing partly to the disunion of the colonies themselves and partly to the procrastination of the home government, had done nothing except the building of *Oswego* on the south side of Lake Ontario. Then in 1754 came the building by the French, near the western boundary of Pennsylvania and at the junction of three rivers, of *Fort Duquesne*; and the last link, it has been said, in the French chain of forts was forged. Its building at once led to war in America. Two attempts to capture it were made, the first under Washington in 1754, and the second under Braddock in 1755; and both were disastrous.[1] The outlook for the French in America was bright, when in 1756 formal war was declared between Great Britain and France.

The French forts.

Fort Duquesne, 1754.

But in the east as well as in the west, in India as well as in America, French and British ambitions clashed. Though on the west coast Bombay belonging to the English East India company and Mahé belonging to the French East India com-

[1] Braddock, who had pushed forward with twelve hundred men, was caught in an ambush some seven miles from the fort, and lost nearly two-thirds of his force. He himself fought most bravely, and, after having five horses shot under him, was mortally wounded, and died next day.

pany lay far apart, their factories on the east coast were in the same districts. In the north the English Calcutta lay close to the French Chandernagore, whilst in the south the French Pondicherry lay between, though at some distance from, Madras and Fort St. David. Both companies had reached a point when for their future commercial development some interference with the politics of the interior was probable. It was, however, the condition of India itself which made that interference inevitable.

English and French East India Companies.

India, it must be remembered, is not a country like France or Germany, but a large continent. Its area is almost equal to, and its population is greater than, that of all Europe if Russia is excluded. The inhabitants of this vast continent speak some fifty languages, and they vary in colour from the light brown of the Northern Pathan to the black of the Southern Tamil; and they are divided into races which, in the words of a recent viceroy, differ from one another "as much as the Esquimaux from the Spaniard or the Irishman from the Turk". It may be urged that the Hindoo religion gives a certain unifying influence; but it must be borne in mind that the Mohammedans—to say nothing of other religious sects such as the Parsees and Sikhs—constitute a very strong minority.[1] Moreover the Hindoos are themselves divided into some 3000 castes, the members of which have little social intercourse with one another; and their religion, it has been said, exhibits the worship of innumerable gods and an endless diversity of ritual. The religion of the well-educated Brahmin—the highest caste—may be called a form of Deism; the religion of the ordinary Hindoo peasant embraces the worship of many local deities, and almost every village has its own particular objects of veneration.

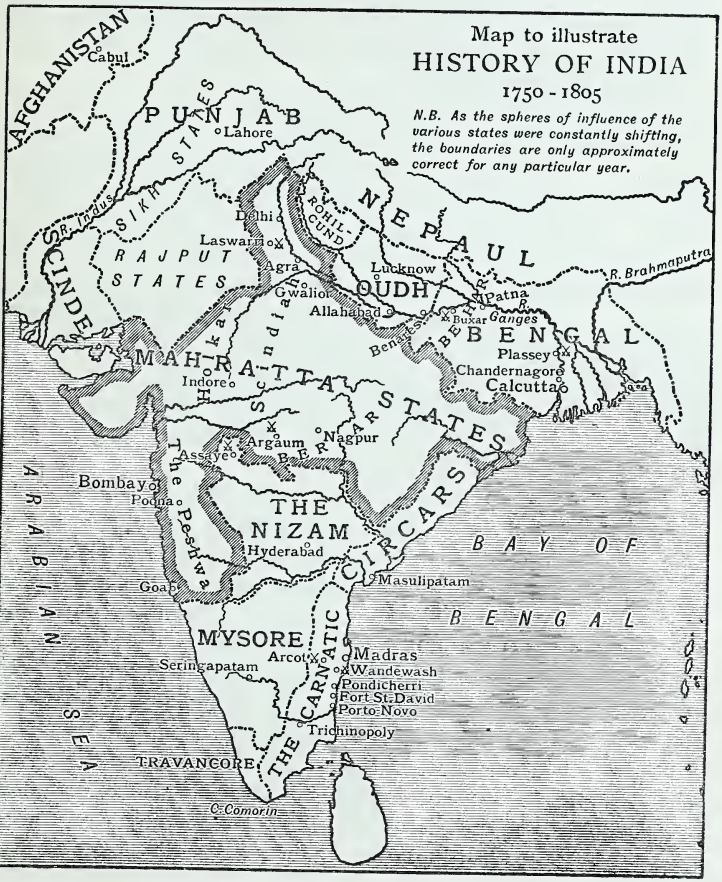
The races of India.

The great Mohammedan dynasty, generally known as the Mogul dynasty, had, for a time, brought nearly the whole of India under its control. Established in the sixteenth century, it had gradually extended its power, especially under *Akbar*—the contemporary

Its anarchical condition after 1707

[1] According to the last census, the Hindoos number at the present time about 70 per cent of the total population.

of Elizabeth—and *Aurangzeb*. But with the death of the last-named in 1707 the empire had begun to break asunder and India fell into a condition of anarchy. From the north the



King of Persia came in 1739 and sacked Delhi, the Mogul capital. The Afghans after six successive invasions established themselves in the Punjab, until finally they gave way, towards the end of the century, to the Sikhs. In the north-east the

rulers of Bengal and Oudh were practically independent. In Central India, the Mahrattas—Hindoo tribes—made expeditions north and east from their two great centres at Poona and at Nagpur. In the south the Nizam of Hyderabad was the greatest potentate, and the Nabob of the Carnatic in the south-east was his vassal. In the south-west the ruler of Mysore was shortly to possess formidable power.

In the constant rivalries between these various States lay the opportunity for European interference. And in 1741 a Frenchman, by name *Dupleix*, of exceptional ability and ambition, was appointed Governor of Pondicherry. He determined to take advantage, in the south, of this state of affairs. During the War of the Austrian Succession he devoted his energies to the capture of Madras, only to be obliged to give it back at the peace. But there followed disputed successions at Hyderabad and in the Carnatic. Dupleix and the British each supported a rival pair of candidates. One of the French candidates triumphed at Hyderabad; the other secured the whole Carnatic save Trichinopoly, and even that place was besieged and seemed likely to fall.

Dupleix in India, 1741-54.

It was at this critical moment in 1751 that the position was saved by *Robert Clive*. The son of a small Shropshire squire, he had—after a somewhat turbulent boyhood—gone to India to act as a clerk in the East India Company.[1] When Dupleix attacked Madras, he had volunteered for service, and both then and subsequently made his mark as a soldier. He now proposed, as a diversion, an attack upon *Arcot*, the capital. His proposal was accepted, and with a small force he succeeded in capturing it. This bold action had the effect he desired, and the siege of Trichinopoly was raised. But this was by no means all. He had now to defend Arcot until relief came. With two hundred and thirty men he held on for fifty days, though he had to defend two

Clive and the Siege of Arcot, 1751.

[1] He was, even in early life, of a somewhat pugnacious disposition, and, at the age of six, was described as "out of measure addicted to fighting", whilst, later on, the shopkeepers of Market Drayton, so tradition says, used to pay "a small tribute of apples and halfpence" to Clive and a band of his schoolfellows in order to preserve their windows from molestation. Clive, when he reached India, was for some time profoundly unhappy, and tried to commit suicide, but the pistol did not fire.

breaches, the one of fifty and the other of ninety feet, against an army of ten thousand men. From the successful defence of Arcot, as Macaulay says, dates the renown of the British arms in the East. We had shown that we were not mere pedlars but fighters as well. Further successes led to the triumph of the British candidate in the Carnatic, and in 1754 Dupleix was recalled. Yet, as in Canada, the struggle was not over; and the Seven Years' War was to prove as important for its effects in India as for those in Canada.

The Seven Years' War did not begin formally till 1756. But, as we have seen, hostilities between Great Britain and France had occurred in America and in India long before the war broke out in Europe. The capture and defence of Arcot by Clive occurred in 1751, the English attacks on Fort Duquesne began in 1754, whilst in 1755 hostilities spread to the sea, on which the British captured two French men-of-war carrying soldiers to Canada. Finally, in the early months of 1756 the French attacked Minorca; and with this last event war was regularly declared between the two countries.

Outbreak of Seven Years' War, 1756.

It was not only, however, the rivalry between France and Great Britain that brought about the war, but also that between Austria and Prussia. Maria Theresa had no intention of allowing Frederick to retain Silesia; she felt its loss so keenly that she could not see a native of that country, it was said, without weeping. The only question was as to the partners which the rival powers would take. In the War of the Austrian Succession the allies on each side had been dissatisfied with one another. For this and for other reasons the old alliances were reversed in the Seven Years' War. Austria and France—hitherto the great European rivals—for once made alliance together, and subsequently persuaded Russia to join them; and Great Britain bound itself to Austria's rival, Prussia.

Rivalry of Prussia and Austria.

The Seven Years' War, so far as Great Britain is concerned, may be divided into two periods. The first two years (1756–7) were years of almost unrelieved failure. The *Duke of Newcastle* (see p. 494) for the greater part of the time was chief

minister. Procrastinating and ignorant, timid and undecided, he was "unfit", said George II, "to be Chamberlain to the smallest Court in Germany"; and it would certainly be difficult to find anyone less fitted to carry on a great war. Commanders, both on land and sea, uninspired by the Government at home, planned their strategy without thought, and fought their battles by obsolete and formal methods. Consequently, at the beginning of the war, Great Britain was in terror of invasion, and to her disgrace Hessians and Hanoverians were brought over to defend her own shores.

British failures in the war, 1756-7.

Meantime, *Byng* was dispatched with a fleet badly provisioned and poorly equipped to relieve *Minorca*, which, as has been stated, had been attacked by the French. Off that island he fought an indecisive action with the French fleet when he ought to have avoided a battle and confined his attention to harassing the French communications. He then, supported by the advice of a council of war, returned home, leaving Minorca to be taken by the French. The nation was furious. Byng was tried for neglect of duty, found guilty, and shot on the quarterdeck of his own ship in Portsmouth Harbour—a scapegoat for the incompetence of the British Government and the want of seamanship on the part of the British navy.[1] In America, the British lost *Oswego* and *Fort William Henry*, and an intended attack on Louisburg came to nothing. In Germany, the Duke of Cumberland, George II's son, who had been sent to protect Hanover and to cover the western frontier of Prussia from a French invasion, was defeated at *Hastenbeck*, and forced to sign the convention of Kloster-seven, by which he agreed to evacuate the country (1757).[2] Only two wonderful victories won by our ally, King Frederick of Prussia, over the French

Byng and Minorca.

[1] Byng, who was the son of the admiral who had won the battle off Cape Passaro in 1720, was unfortunate in being the first victim of a new rule. Officers could previously be shot for "cowardice" or "disaffection"; but "negligence" had recently been added as a capital offence, and Byng came under this charge because he was found guilty of not having done his utmost to save Minorca. Voltaire's *mot* on this execution is well known: it was done, he said, "pour encourager les autres".

[2] George II was very angry as a consequence, and on Cumberland's return to London only gave him an interview of four minutes, telling him that "he had ruined his country and spoiled everything". At cards that evening, when the duke entered the room, the king said openly: "Here is my son who has ruined me and disgraced himself!"

at Rossbach and over the Austrians at Leuthen saved the situation.

The last five years of the war (1758–63) are, on the other hand, years of almost untarnished glory. Midway in the year 1757 *William Pitt* formed a coalition ministry with the *Duke of Newcastle*. Pitt had all the qualities necessary for a great war minister. He combined supreme self-confidence with a power of inspiring others. "I believe," he said of himself, "I can save this country and that no one else can." "No one," said an officer, "can enter his closet without coming out of it a braver man." He had the capacity for selecting good men; no doubt he appointed some bad officers, but Hawke and Wolfe and Ferdinand of Brunswick are great names which attest his judgment. Above all, he had not only the genius of conceiving great and sound strategical designs, but also the capacity, with infinite patience and thoroughness, to plan their execution. No doubt he was arrogant and overbearing. He threatened to impeach one colleague who opposed him, and another complained that his language was of a kind seldom heard west of Constantinople. But these very qualities enabled him to become the only genuine war minister Great Britain has had since the development of cabinet government, a minister possessing the almost undisputed control of the army and the navy as well as of the diplomacy of the country. For his ally Pitt had Frederick, King of Prussia, and it was through the combination of these great men that the foundations of the modern Empire of Great Britain and of the modern Kingdom of Prussia were securely laid.

British successes, 1758–63, and Pitt's influence.

Pitt's strategy was briefly as follows. Assistance must be given to the King of Prussia. Even the generalship of Frederick the Great would not have enabled Prussia to withstand alone the combined forces of Austria, France, and Russia. Moreover, it was part of Pitt's policy to absorb French energies as far as possible in Europe. "We shall win Canada," Pitt said, "on the banks of the Elbe." Consequently he not only paid subsidies to Frederick of Prussia, but also maintained in Germany an army partly British and partly Hanoverian under *Ferdinand of Brunswick* to protect Hanover and the western flank of Prussia from the French. In addition,

Strategy of Pitt.

he attacked various places on the French coast. These attacks, though not very successful,[1] kept the French nation in a continual state of alarm, and led, according to Pitt's information, to some thirty thousand French troops being employed in defensive work at home instead of aggressive operations elsewhere. In the West Indies and in the East Pitt's object was, at first, to protect British commerce, and later, to extend British possessions. His chief energies, however, were concentrated on the conquest of Canada; it was there we were to make the first bid for victory whilst the French wasted their efforts on the Continent.

The campaign of 1758.

In 1758 the initial successes began. In America, three separate armies advanced; the first, it is true, failed to take Ticonderoga, but of the others, one, with the aid of the fleet, captured Louisburg, and the other Fort Duquesne. Two raids were made on the French coast. The first went to St. Malo and destroyed a great deal of French shipping; but the second, after doing much damage at Cherbourg, revisited St. Malo, and on this occasion had to make a disastrously precipitate retreat. In Germany, Ferdinand of Brunswick was able to reach the Rhine, though he had to retreat later on. And just before the end of the year an expedition which had been dispatched to West Africa captured the French settlement of Goree.

The year of victories, 1759.

With 1759 came a year more fruitful of successes than any other in our history. Upon Canada Pitt planned a twofold advance. Amherst was to take Ticonderoga, which he did, and to reach Quebec—which he was unable to accomplish. Wolfe, one of Pitt's favourite officers, was selected to command the soldiers and Saunders to command the sailors of another expedition which should go up the river St. Lawrence to attack Quebec. Saunders, in spite of fog and contrary winds, took the fleet and the transports up the St. Lawrence without mishap.

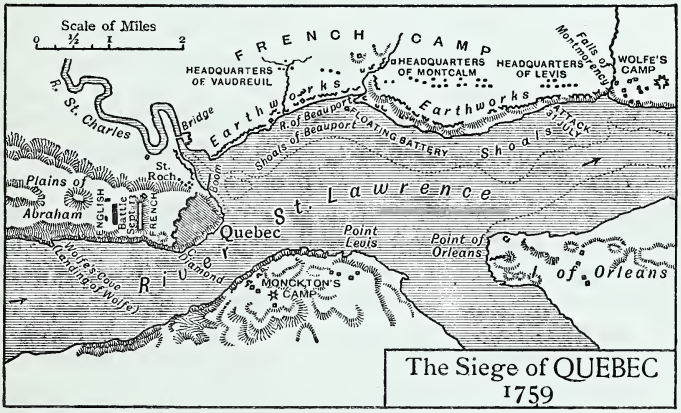
The attack on Quebec.

Quebec stands upon a rocky promontory at the junction of the river St. Charles and the river St. Lawrence. Montcalm, the French commander, had fortified the bank of the river St. Lawrence from the point where the river St.

[1] An opponent of Pitt's spoke of them sneeringly "as breaking windows with guineas", and they were undoubtedly expensive.

Charles joins it to a point some eight miles down stream where another river, the Montmorency, flows into it. Wolfe had, with inferior forces, to fight an enemy who was strictly on the defensive. He at once seized the Isle of Orleans, which lay below Quebec. But he could not succeed in tempting Montcalm from his entrenchments, and an attack made upon the French from across the river Montmorency was a failure. The summer wore on and matters looked hopeless.

Meantime, however, some of the British ships had succeeded



in passing the Quebec batteries, and in getting above the city. It was this achievement which enabled Wolfe to make his masterstroke. The cliffs on the north bank of the St. Lawrence above Quebec are steep and precipitous, but about a mile and a half beyond that fortress Wolfe had discovered a zigzag path which led to their summit. He determined to attempt a night attack at this place, and accordingly made arrangements, with great skill, to divert the enemy's attention from that quarter. Below Quebec, Montcalm's attention was occupied by a bombardment from the main body of the fleet under Saunders, whilst the garrison in the city itself had an energetic attack directed upon it from the opposite bank. Meanwhile Wolfe himself and a large part of his troops had embarked in the ships which were above Quebec. On the night of the attack the ships were some six miles above the

intended landing-place so as to distract the attention of Bougainville, who with a large force was watching these ships, from Wolfe's real objective.

Brilliantly conceived, the plan was no less brilliantly executed. About 2 a.m. on the morning of September 13, the ships' boats, laden with soldiers, started on their journey. They deceived two sentinels on the bank by pretending to be some expected French provision boats, and then a small landing-party got on shore, climbed up the path, surprised the small guard at the top of the cliff, and covered the landing of the rest of Wolfe's forces.

The news of this exploit was, of course, conveyed to Montcalm and Bougainville. The latter waited for the news to be confirmed, and was any way too far off to be of service; but Montcalm, after some hesitation, through being uncertain of Saunders's intentions, hurried up and marshalled his men on the *Heights of Abraham*. Towards ten o'clock the French advanced. The British waited till they came within thirty-five yards, gave two murderous volleys, and then charged, the newly-enlisted Highlanders especially distinguishing themselves. In twenty minutes the battle was over, and was followed by the capture of Quebec. The heroes of each side, Montcalm and Wolfe, were mortally wounded.[1]

The Heights of Abraham, Sept. 13.

Elsewhere almost as great successes occurred. An expedition sent to the West Indies failed, indeed, to take Martinique, but took Guadeloupe instead. In Germany, Ferdinand, with an army composed of various nationalities, had to retire before two other armies and leave Hanover unprotected. By a brilliant counterstroke he suddenly attacked one French army at *Minden*. Nine battalions of British infantry, though exposed to a cross fire of artillery, charged through three successive lines of hostile cavalry and tumbled them to ruin; and but for the failure of Lord George Sackville to follow up so mag-

Battle of Minden, Aug. 1.

[1] Wolfe, at the age of sixteen, fought in the battle of Dettingen, and had to act as adjutant of his battalion. At the age of twenty-two he was given command of a regiment, and proved himself an admirable commander. He was a person of literary tastes. As his boat was going down the St. Lawrence on the night of the attack, he is said to have quoted some lines of Gray's Elegy, exclaiming: "Now, gentlemen, I would rather have written that poem than take Quebec!" George II had a high opinion of Wolfe's capacity. On one occasion someone said to him that Wolfe was mad. "Mad, is he?" was the king's answer; "then I wish he would bite some of my other generals."

nificent a charge with the cavalry, the victory might have been an overwhelming one.

Meanwhile the French had been planning the invasion of England. The fleets at Toulon and at Brest were to unite and to convoy the troops across. The Toulon fleet left harbour; but it was discovered going through the Straits of Gibraltar, and Boscawen, the British admiral, started in pursuit in under three hours—a wonderful performance. By the end of the next day the greater number of the French ships had been dispersed or destroyed off *Lagos*, and the remnant had retired to Cadiz (August 18). The Brest fleet took advantage of the absence of Hawke's blockading fleet, which had been driven away by a fierce storm, to escape, and sailed south.[1] But Hawke pursued it to *Quiberon Bay*, and on a lee shore during a November gale, in a bay full of reefs and shoals, fought it, captured two of its number, and destroyed two others. The remainder of the French fleet was dispersed, seven ships taking refuge up a river, from which they only escaped some fifteen months later. The French plan of invasion therefore absolutely failed. The fight in Quiberon Bay makes a wonderful ending to a wonderful year.

Battles of Lagos (Aug. 18) and Quiberon Bay (Nov. 20).

The later years of the war saw further successes. In 1760—the year of George III's accession—Montreal was captured, and the conquest of Canada was completed. In 1761 the British captured Belleisle, off the west coast of France. In that same year Spain joined France. Pitt had secret intelligence of this alliance, and had wanted to declare war on Spain before it declared war on us, and to capture the annual treasure fleet that came from Spanish America. The cabinet would not consent, and consequently Pitt resigned and Bute became head of the ministry. Spain, when the treasure fleet safely reached her harbours, declared war. But she was only to lose from her intervention. For in 1762 Great Britain captured Havana, the capital of Cuba, and Manila, the capital of

British successes, 1761–2.

[1] Hawke had entered the navy in 1720 at the age of fourteen. To Hawke is due what has been called a veritable revolution in naval strategy, for he instituted in 1759 the system of a blockade over the French port of Brest. He did this effectually for a period of six months from May to November, 1759. The French fleet only finally escaped because a very bad storm forced Hawke to take refuge at Torbay.

the Philippine Islands; whilst, to her other captures from France, Great Britain added Martinique and St. Lucia. Meantime negotiations had been begun for peace, and in 1763 the peace came.

Before giving the terms of peace, we must turn to the course of the war in India. There also it opened gloomily. In the north, in 1756, a new Nabob of Bengal, *Surajah Dowlah*, had, within two months of his accession, quarrelled with the British. He seized Calcutta, and there perpetrated the ghastly tragedy of the "Black Hole", putting one hundred and forty-six people—of whom only twenty-three survived—in a hot Indian night in a prison barely twenty feet square, and with only two small barred windows. Clive came up from Madras and retook Calcutta. In 1757—in the very same month that Pitt took office—he won on the field of *Plassey* with three thousand men, and with only eight guns, a victory over an army of fifty thousand men with forty guns. Clive was materially helped by the treachery of Meer Jaffier, one of the nabob's generals, and by the fact that a thunderstorm wetted the enemy's gunpowder, whilst tarpaulins protected his own; but even so, it was superb audacity on the part of Clive to risk a battle. That victory marks the beginning of the political ascendancy of the East India Company in Bengal; the Company put Meer Jaffier on the throne, and was given in return a substantial amount of land round Calcutta.

The war in Bengal.

Battle of Plassey, 1757.

In the south matters had begun badly, as in the north, and the French took Fort St. David and besieged Madras; but they were quickly driven away. Brilliant success was to follow. In the year of victories—in 1759—the capture of *Masulipatam* gave the English East India Company not only some eighty miles of coast line in the Circars, but substituted English for French influence at the Court of the Nizam of Hyderabad; whilst in the following year, at *Wandewash*, Eyre Coote won a victory over the French which led to the capture of Pondicherry and the other French settlements.

The war in Southern India.

Battle of Wandewash, 1760.

The Treaty of Paris in 1763 ended the war which had been so glorious to our arms. In America, Great Britain received Canada, the French territory on the east of the Mississippi,

Cape Breton Island, and all other islands in the River and Gulf of St. Lawrence, besides Florida, which she received from Spain in exchange for Havannah. In the West Indies, she received Dominica, Tobago, and Grenada; in the Mediterranean, Minorca; and in Africa, the settlements on the river Senegal. But Great Britain gave back a good deal. To Spain she returned rich Havana and Manila—the news of the capture of the latter was not received till negotiations were practically completed. France recovered Belleisle and Goree, strong Martinique and wealthy St. Lucia; and her settlements in India were restored to her on condition that she should not fortify them. To France also was ceded the right to fish off the Newfoundland coast, and two small islands were given to her for the use of her fishermen. No doubt if Pitt had been in office the terms would have been better; but, even as it is, the peace marks a great stage forward in the advance of our empire. With regard to Germany, France agreed to give up all the territories in that country which she had occupied. Frederick the Great held, however, that the British by negotiating a peace separately with the French had basely deserted him; and though the charge was not true, it affected Prussian sentiment towards Great Britain for a considerable period.

The Treaty of Paris, 1763.

XXXVI. Domestic Politics and the First Two Georges, 1714-60

1. The British Constitution, 1714–1832

We must turn aside for a while from the review of the great wars to sketch the domestic affairs of Great Britain after 1714. Parliament, as a result of the Revolution of 1688, had obtained control of legislation and taxation. William III, however, as has been pointed out, chose his own ministers and directed both the home and foreign policy of the nation; and even Anne often

presided at meetings of the cabinet[1]—as the meetings of heads of departments came to be called—and directly appointed the ministers. But with the accession of the House of Hanover came a great change, and it may be convenient here to summarize the chief features of the constitution during the hundred years after 1714.

"The Act of Settlement had given us," it has been said, "a foreign sovereign; the presence of a foreign sovereign gave us a prime minister." George I could not speak English—Walpole, after 1721 the king's chief minister, had to brush up his Latin in order to converse with the king in that language—and George II only spoke it with a strong German accent; while neither of the two kings was sufficiently interested in or intimate with British politics to comprehend its details. Consequently neither of them attended cabinet meetings; and George III, when he came to the throne in 1760, was unable, despite his desire, to do so owing to the precedent set by his predecessors. Hence it was natural that one minister should preside over the cabinet and direct its proceedings; and gradually it came about that he and not the king appointed his colleagues to the ministry, and that he obtained the title of prime minister. Moreover, the king, as he was not present at the cabinet meetings where the details were discussed, gradually lost the power of deciding on what was to be done. He would be told that such and such had happened, and that the advice of his minister was to do this. If he did not understand, or were careless, or not interested, he agreed without further comment. Gradually, the other characteristics of our present system of cabinet government were evolved: ministers were chosen from the same party; they became jointly responsible for the policy pursued; and they became dependent for the continuance of their power, not upon the king, but upon the House of Commons. Hitherto the Crown had decided, though the

The prime minister.

The cabinet system.

[1] The privy council had grown too large for consultative purposes; consequently an inner royal council had developed, which was first called a "cabinet" in the reign of Charles I. After the Revolution the cabinet became an established institution. A statesman of Anne's reign illustrated the difference between the privy council and the cabinet thus: "The privy council were such as were thought to know everything and knew nothing, while those of the cabinet thought that nobody knew anything but themselves".

ministers might be consulted; but as time goes on the position is reversed—the ministers decided, though the Crown might be consulted. Moreover, the Crown ceased to refuse its assent to bills passed by Parliament, Anne being the last sovereign who exercised this right.

We must beware, however, of two mistakes in tracing the history of cabinet government. In the first place, we must not antedate its full development. In the eighteenth century, for instance, the leader of the ministry would have repudiated the title of prime minister owing to its unpopularity. Members of a cabinet not infrequently gave individual and contradictory advice to the king and seldom retired from office at the same time. Moreover, the Crown was still a great force; indeed, it might be said that the ministers of the eighteenth century had to serve two masters—the Crown and a majority of the House of Commons; and the hostility of either might cause their fall. And, as we shall see, in the latter part of the century, George III was successful in recovering, for a time, much of the power which George I and George II had lost.

Slowness of its development.

In the second place, it must not be imagined that the power which the Crown lost was gained by the people, that monarchy gave way to democracy. Britain in the eighteenth century, it has been said, was ruled by a "Venetian oligarchy". It was an oligarchy as exclusive, and almost as omnipotent, as in that famous republic, although its power was based, not, as in Venice, on the wealth derived from commerce, but on the power derived from the possession of large landed estates. Educated at one of the large public schools, intermarrying with one another, meeting each other constantly in the small and exclusive society of the London of that day, a few family clans composed the governing classes of the period. The leaders of such families as the Pelhams, the Russells, and the Cavendishes were found constantly in the higher, and their relatives in the lower posts of each Government. In one cabinet half the members were dukes, and in another there was only one commoner. This landowning oligarchy "encircled and enchained the throne", dominated the House of

Power of the aristocracy.

Lords, and possessed enormous influence in the House of Commons.

Composition of the House of Commons.

The House of Commons was, up till the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832, a very undemocratic body. The representation was most unequal; Cornwall, for instance, because it was a royal duchy, and therefore subject to the Crown influence, returned as many members as the whole of Scotland. In the English and Welsh counties the franchise was limited to freeholders, namely, those who owned their own land—not, of course, a large number. In the English and Welsh boroughs still greater anomalies existed, the franchise being confined to members of the corporation; consequently, in a city of the size of Bath, for instance, the number of voters was only thirty-five. Moreover, whilst towns so important as Manchester or Birmingham had no representatives at all, there were a great many small and insignificant boroughs, with a very few voters, which returned one and sometimes two members. These boroughs were known either as "rotten" or "pocket" boroughs. In the case of the former the seat was generally sold to the highest bidder.[1] A "pocket borough", on the other hand, belonged to an individual, generally a neighbouring landowner, who nominated a member to represent it. In the middle of the eighteenth century Lord Lonsdale possessed nine and the Duke of Norfolk eleven of these "pocket" boroughs, whilst it was reckoned that no less than fifty members of the House of Commons to a large degree owed their seats to the influence of the Duke of Newcastle.[2]

In Scotland the electoral system was just as unrepresentative. The county of Bute possessed but twelve voters, whilst in the burghs the elections were controlled by a few individuals. Just before the Reform Bill of 1832 it was reckoned that with a population of over two and a quarter millions Scotland had only

[1] The price of seats went steadily up till the Reform Bill of 1832. About 1730 the price for the lifetime of a single parliament was £1500; a hundred years later it reached as much as £7000.

[2] Two statistics may perhaps best illustrate the character of the representation in England and Wales. Towards the close of the eighteenth century, out of a total population of some seven millions, only three hundred thousand had votes; and the aggregate number of voters which two hundred and fifty members in the House of Commons represented was only just over eleven thousand.

three thousand electors, and it was said that more votes were cast at a single by-election in Westminster than in a Scottish general election. Moreover, the ministers responsible for Scottish affairs had an enormous influence, which they exercised to secure members favourable to the Government in power.[1]

To one more point allusion may be made. There is no doubt that the politics of the eighteenth century were somewhat corrupt. Loyalty to a party or a minister was generously rewarded; in George III's reign, for instance, no less than three hundred and eighty-eight peerages were created, most of them for political services. There was bribery with places and pensions; it was reckoned that a very large number of members of Parliament had either the one or the other. Politics were regarded as a lucrative profession, and a minister might expect to be able to endow his relatives and supporters with desirable offices, which combined a small amount of work with a large amount of remuneration.[2] But this was all part of the political system of that day. The direct bribery of members of Parliament to obtain their votes on a particular occasion was probably rare, except in some very corrupt years; and owing largely to the influence of such statesmen as the elder, and to a lesser extent the younger Pitt, and to a bill passed at the end of the century which reduced the number of places and pensions, the standard of political morality was gradually improved.

Corruption in politics.

When all is said that can be said against the political system in existence between 1714 and 1832, it did, as a matter of fact, produce many statesmen of distinguished ability. Many of our

[1] Thus the Duke of Argyll and his brother were supreme during part of Walpole's ministry, and Henry Dundas during Pitt's rule (1783–1801) had such authority that he was known as Harry the Ninth, and practically all the Scotch members were his supporters.

[2] Thus Horace Walpole, the letter writer, was the third son of Robert Walpole, the prime minister. Whilst still a boy at Eton his father gave him the offices of Clerk of the Estreats and Comptroller of the Pipe, which produced about £300 per annum. At the age of twenty he became Usher of the Exchequer, which was worth from £1000 to £1500 a year. His duties were not exacting; they were "to furnish papers, pens, ink, wax, sand, tape, penknives, scissors, and parchment to the Exchequer and Treasury, and to pay the bills of the workmen and tradesmen who serve these offices". On his father's death, Walpole received in addition £1000 a year from the collector's place in the custom house. All these offices Walpole held for the rest of his life. Of his two brothers, one held the lucrative office of Auditor of the Exchequer, and the other was Clerk of the Pells.

greatest statesmen, including Walpole, Canning, Fox, the two Pitts, Gladstone, and Palmerston, began their political career as representatives of "pocket boroughs". Of course it is quite true that the House of Commons was not acutely sensitive to public opinion and did not readily reflect every change in the nation's ideas. But if the nation really felt strongly about anything, its feelings would in the end prevail in the House. And in some ways the system was good, for it gave the House a stability and the member an independence which were valuable.

Fortunes of Parties, 1714–1832.

The accession of the House of Hanover not only marked an important stage in the development of our Constitution, but it also affected profoundly the fortunes of the great political parties in the State. For the next *forty-five* years the *Whigs were supreme.* The Tories were tainted with Jacobite sympathies, and the Whigs therefore remained in secure possession of the Government. The ministries, consequently, were of long duration, Walpole's lasting for twenty-one years (1721–42) and that of Pelham for ten years (1744–54). But with the accession of George III in 1760 came a change. The Tories were by this time reconciled to the Hanoverian dynasty, and their views on the necessity of reviving the monarchical power were congenial to the new king. Consequently, after a series of short Whig ministries—six in nine years—George III at last found the support he desired from a succession of *Tory ministers.* During nearly the whole of the period 1769–1830, the Tories, first under Lord North, then under the younger Pitt, and finally under Lord Liverpool, were in office; and their power was increased through the fear inspired by the French Revolution of 1789, which led many Whigs to join the Tory ranks. Not till 1830 did the Whigs, owing to their advocacy of Parliamentary Reform, return to power for any length of time.[1]

[1] They were in office 1782–3, but only for a very short period, and their leaders formed a coalition ministry with the Tory leaders 1806–7.

2. The Risings of 1715 and 1745 in Scotland

Something must now be said about the details of the history during the period comprised by the reigns of *George I* (*1714–27*) and of *George II* (*1727–60*). "Soul extinct; stomach well alive" is the verdict of one distinguished historian on this epoch. Indeed, it cannot, except towards its close, be called an inspiring one. In politics there was a good deal of corruption, and no great principle to ennoble the strife between the party factions. In religion, the Church of England, it has been said, slept and rotted in peace, and its leaders—the bishops—were in some cases hardly Christians. The poetry was of the artificial, epigrammatic character, of which Pope was such a master. A period of peace was followed by a period of war, in which for a time many of our soldiers and seamen showed conspicuous incapacity. Nevertheless, it was a period of growing toleration in matters of religion, and of growing common sense in the affairs of the world; the country grew prosperous, and trade and industry increased; and the nation obtained, for the first half of this epoch, what perhaps it most needed at that time—an interval of repose.

Character of period 1714–60.

Such a period was not one in which men would be prepared to lead forlorn hopes in support of lost causes. Though Tory squires and Oxford undergraduates might still continue to toast the Stuarts,[1] the mass of the nation quietly acquiesced in the Hanoverian succession. Only in Scotland, and especially in the Highlands, was active devotion shown to the House of Stuart, and Scotland was the centre of the two rebellions which took place. The first rising was in 1715, and is known, from the name of its leader, as *Mar's Rebellion*. There were to be risings in the Highlands under the Earl of Mar himself, and in the Lowlands of Scotland; in Cumberland, under a Mr. Forster; and in the west of England, where the Duke of Ormonde was to land. But the rising in the west came to nothing. The two Scotch forces should have combined for a

The 'Fifteen'.

[1] Under such disguises as Job, standing for James III (the Old Pretender), Ormonde, and Bolingbroke; or £3, 14*s.* 5*d.*, which denoted James III and the two foreign kings who were expected to assist him, Louis XIV of France and Philip V of Spain.

joint attack upon Stirling, which commanded the communications of Highlands and Lowlands; but the Lowlanders went south instead of north, and along with the men of Cumberland were taken prisoners at Preston. The day before their capture Mar met the Hanoverian army at *Sheriffmuir*, and though the battle was indecisive, the right wing of each army soundly defeating the wing opposed to it, the rebellion fizzled out. After the rebellion was over a few of its leaders were executed, though one of them, Lord Nithsdale, succeeded in escaping from prison in his wife's dress the day before that fixed for his execution.[1]

Causes of failure.

The causes of the failure of the rising were many. To begin with, its leaders were incompetent, and no one had much faith in Mar, "bobbing John" as he was called. The Old Pretender did indeed land in Scotland, but not till after Sheriffmuir had been fought, and he proved a very dispiriting and frigid leader; "it is no new thing for me to be unfortunate", were reported to be almost his opening words on his arrival.[2] Moreover, Louis XIV had just died, and the Regent Orleans, who governed during the childhood of Louis XV, wished to keep on good terms with Great Britain. Consequently no help from France was forthcoming. Finally, the Whig Government in power showed much energy in dealing with the situation.

The rising of 1745.

The second rising, 1745, was a more formidable affair. It took place during the War of the Austrian Succession, soon after the battle of Fontenoy (p. 463), where Great Britain had lost great numbers of her bravest troops. Its hero was *Charles Edward*, the son of the Old Pretender, whose daring and attractive personality well fitted him to lead the Highlanders to victory. Landing in July with only seven men at Moidart, in the north-west of Scotland, he won the support of the Camerons and Macdonalds, and marched south. Cope, the opposing general, marched north from Edinburgh to meet him, but, thinking

[1] When George I heard of Lord Nithsdale's escape, he merely said that it was "the best thing a man in his condition could have done".

[2] The Old Pretender, or the Chevalier de St. George as he is called, left Scotland in less than six weeks. Subsequently he married a granddaughter of the King of Poland, his two sons being Charles Edward (d. 1788) and the Cardinal of York (d. 1807). He himself died in 1766, and some years later—in 1819—George III erected a monument to his memory in St. Peter's at Rome. In his earlier days the Chevalier fought with great bravery for the French at Oudenarde and Malplaquet.

that Corry Arrack—a pass four miles long with seventeen sudden turnings—was held by the enemy, branched off to Inverness. Prince Charles therefore continued his march south, and he was joined by a very capable officer, Lord George Murray.[1] He then entered Edinburgh, and advanced to meet Cope, who had returned by sea, at *Prestonpans*. Crossing by night a marsh which was supposed to be impassable, Prince Charles at daylight found himself within two hundred yards of the enemy; and his Highlanders, charging successively the artillery, the cavalry, and the infantry, won a decisive victory in under ten minutes (September). "They ran like rabets", wrote the Prince of the enemy (the spelling is his own); "not a single bayonet was blood-stained".[2] Nearly all Scotland now acknowledged Charles Edward.

General Wade, meanwhile, had been sent north to Newcastle with ten battalions (seven of which were composed of foreigners) to prevent an invasion of England. Prince Charles advanced south, then suddenly—to avoid Wade— swerved west, entered England by Carlisle, took Manchester, and reached Derby—within one hundred and twenty-five miles of London. Whether he ought to have advanced farther will always be a matter for dispute. Had he but known that Newcastle, one of the chief ministers of the day, was restlessly pacing his room in an agony of doubt as to whether to join the Pretender or not, that George II himself had made all preparations to retire to Hanover, and that people were rushing in wild panic to get their money from the bank, he might have proceeded. As it was, Prudence in the person of Lord George Murray said "No"; for Wade was with one army in the north, Cumberland with another in the Midlands, and yet another lay near London, whilst the Prince's own army was dwindling and recruits were not coming in. Consequently Prince Charles retreated; and when he had once begun, he could not stop.

The invasion of England.

The rebellion henceforward became, as a contemporary said, "a rebellion on the defensive", and was bound to fail. Prince

[1] He had a son at Eton who was very anxious to fight for King George.

[2] The Highlanders were delighted; they had, they said, a prince "who could eat a dry crust, sleep on pease-straw, eat his dinner in four minutes, and win a battle in five".

Charles, however, reached Scotland safely, and won a victory at *Falkirk* (January, 1746). The Duke of Cumberland was then appointed to the chief command in Scotland. Travelling in six days from London to Edinburgh to take up his appointment, he showed a like energy in drilling his troops, and in teaching them to meet a Highland charge. Whilst the men in the rear rank were to fire volleys, those in the front rank were to kneel with bayonets fixed, and each man was to thrust at the Highlander on his right front, the right being the Highlander's unprotected side. After a clever winter campaign in a mountainous country, Cumberland met Prince Charles at *Culloden*, in the neighbourhood of Inverness, and won a complete victory (April, 1746), though he obtained the horrible appellation of "Butcher", from the cruelty which he showed after the battle.[1]

Suppression of rising.

After the rebellion was over, many Scotsmen were executed. Prince Charles himself, through the heroism of Flora Macdonald, was able to effect his escape, and eventually died in 1788.[2] The British Parliament passed a stringent Disarming Act—and even bagpipes, by a decision of the law courts, were declared instruments of war and therefore illegal. Parliament also abolished the hereditary jurisdiction of the Highland chiefs—many of whom had taken part in the insurrection—and tried, though without success, to abolish the national dress. With the failure of the rising, the hopes of the Jacobites—as the supporters of the Stuarts were called—were for ever crushed. Before long the Highlanders were to show on many a battlefield the same splendid loyalty and devotion to the House of Hanover as they had shown to the House of Stuart, for Pitt during the Seven Years War formed two Scottish regiments, which did magnificent service, especially on the "Heights of Abraham".

[1] The battle of Culloden made the Duke of Cumberland a popular hero in England. Parliament voted him £25,000 a year. Handel composed an oratorio in his honour, whilst Tyburn Gate in Hyde Park was renamed Cumberland Gate. Innkeepers delighted to put his head on their tavern signs, and florists made use of his Christian name to call a flower "Sweet William". Eleven years later, however, the battle of Hastenbeck made him very unpopular.

[2] Through Flora Macdonald's help he escaped to Skye disguised as an Irish spinning-maid, and subsequently got safely to France. In 1750 he revisited England, of course disguised, and "in the new church in the Strand" made a Declaration of his Protestantism.

3. The Two Kings and their Whig Ministers

Something must now be said about the two kings, *George I and George II*, who ruled respectively from 1714–27, and from 1727–60. They cannot be considered very attractive monarchs. A contemporary said of George I that "he had no notion of what was princely"; whilst George II was somewhat coarse, occasionally irritable, and not over-generous —he only made one present to Walpole, who was his minister for fifteen years, and that was a diamond with a flaw in it. Neither of the two kings was interested in science, art, or literature.[1] Both of them quarrelled with their eldest sons.[2] But whilst George I quarrelled also with his wife and kept her in prison for over thirty years, George II was very much attached to Queen Caroline (she died in 1737), who was indeed a remarkable woman, keenly interested in the philosophy and literature of her time, and exercising considerable influence upon politics.

George I, 1714–27, and George II, 1727–60.

Both George I and George II, however, possessed characteristics which should have appealed to their new subjects. They were keen soldiers. George I began his fighting career at the age of fifteen, and commanded the forces of the Empire for a short period during the War of the Spanish Succession, whilst George II led a great cavalry charge at Oudenarde, and, donning the same old uniform thirty-five years later, fought like a lion at Dettingen. Both kings were veracious and trustworthy, loyal to their friends and not vindictive to their opponents. Moreover, it is very greatly to their credit that, though they were absolute rulers in Hanover, they never overstepped the constitutional limits imposed upon them in Great Britain, and they had the good sense to rely for counsel in British affairs upon their British advisers and

[1] There is a story that George I, when congratulated by some courtier on becoming King of England, said: "Rather congratulate me in having Newton for a subject in one country and Leibnitz in the other." But the story lacks confirmation, and there is no reason to suppose that George I realized the greatness either of the discoverer of the law of gravitation or of the inventor of the differential calculus.

[2] George I was so much displeased with his son, the future George II, that he appears to have entertained a suggestion that the son should be seized and sent to America, "where he should never be heard of more"; for Queen Caroline, George II's wife, found in George I's cabinet after his death a letter from the First Lord of the Admiralty containing this proposal.

not upon any German ministers or favourites. It was hardly to be expected that George I, who came to the throne at the age of fifty-four and did not know a word of English, should understand or care for British politics; he spent half his time in Hanover, and his influence in Great Britain was small. George II, though also devoted to Hanover, knew more of Great Britain, and, as he possessed shrewdness and common sense, was a factor of considerable importance in domestic affairs.

The Whig Government, 1714–20.

We must now turn to home politics. The accession of George I, in 1714, made the Whigs supreme. The Tories were tainted with Jacobite sympathies, and for forty-five years—till after the accession of George III—the Whigs remained in secure possession of the Government. The immense Whig majority that was returned to the first Parliament of George I showed considerable energy. It repealed the more intolerant Acts—such as the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts—passed in the Tory Parliament of Anne. It impeached the Tory leaders, including Harley. Fearful, after Mar's rising was suppressed, that a new Parliament might return a Tory majority, it proceeded to prolong its own existence by passing — somewhat unconstitutionally—the *Septennial Act* (1716), which allowed this and succeeding Parliaments to sit for seven years. The life of a Parliament was till 1911 subject to this Act, and this limit is undoubtedly better than that of three years which had been imposed in the reign of William III. Meanwhile the four leaders in the Whig ministry had quarrelled; and in 1717 two of them, Townshend and Walpole, resigned, leaving Sunderland, the son-in-law of Marlborough, and Stanhope, the conqueror of Minorca, supreme. The rule of the two latter, however, was to come to an abrupt conclusion in 1720.

The South Sea Bubble.

A company had been formed in 1711 to secure the trade of the South Seas. It had prospered, and in 1719 it offered to take over the National Debt, that is to say, to become the sole creditor of the Government, and to buy out, either by cash or by shares in the Company, all other creditors. The Company proposed to pay £7,000,000 for this privilege—for as such it was regarded—and to reduce the interest which the nation was paying. The Government accepted the offer, and the

more willingly as the Company had paid considerable bribes to the less honest of its members. The directors of the Company thought that the close connection with the Government which would result from the Company being its sole creditor would be a gigantic advertisement and inspire confidence. And so it proved. Everyone, including philosophers and clergymen, and even in its corporate capacity the Canton of Berne, began to buy shares in the Company. The £100 shares went up by bounds and reached £1000. There followed a craze of speculation. Numerous companies were formed, none too foolish to lack subscribers.[1] And then came the reaction, and the bubble burst. People began to realize that the South Sea Company's shares could not possibly be worth what had been paid for them, and tried to get rid of them. Consequently the shares fell even quicker than they had risen, and hundreds of people who had bought when the stock was high lost their fortunes.

At once there was a cry for vengeance. It was seriously proposed to tie the directors up in sacks and throw them into the Thames. Revelations regarding the bribes to the ministers came out, and the Government was ruined. Of the two leaders, Sunderland resigned, and Stanhope, who was honest, had a fit when an unjust charge of corruption was brought against him, and died. Of the other ministers, one committed suicide, another was sent to the Tower, whilst the smallpox accounted for a third. The way was thus left open for Walpole, who had not been officially connected with the South Sea Company's transactions, though he had made a profit of 1000 per cent by judicious buying and selling of its shares on his own private account.

Fall of the ministry, 1720.

Robert Walpole was a typical product of his time. By birth a Norfolk squire, and educated at Eton, he was a cheerful, good-natured, tolerant person, and a keen sportsman, who, it was said, always opened the letters from his game-keeper first, however important his other correspondence might be.[2] He was a man of considerable common sense, and a pro-

Character of Walpole.

[1] One financier brought out a company to promote "a certain design which will hereafter be promulgated"; and even this company did not lack subscribers.

[2] Parliament owes its Saturday holiday to the fact that Walpole on that day used always

digiously hard worker. He never appeared to be in a hurry, and he had the invaluable faculty of forgetting his worries. "I throw off my cares," he said, "when I throw off my clothes." As he said, however, of himself, he was no saint, no reformer, no Spartan. A cynical, coarse person, he lacked all enthusiasms. With him there was no ideal for his country to seek to attain in external affairs, no passion to lessen the sum of human misery at home. Such a statesman may make a nation prosperous, but he can never make a nation great. It was fortunate for Great Britain that, after she had waxed fat under a Walpole, she had a Pitt to inspire her to action.

Walpole's rule, 1721-42.

The twenty-one years of Walpole's administration, from 1721–42, contain, it has been said, no history. We have seen how in foreign affairs Walpole maintained till near the close of his ministry a policy of peace, which was very beneficial to England. In domestic affairs little happens. In our financial history, however, Walpole's rule was very important. Walpole undoubtedly was a great financier. He restored credit after the South Sea panic. He found, it is said, our tariff to be the worst in Europe; and by abolishing duties on a great number of articles he made it the best. In all the details of financial administration he was excellent; if he could not, as George I said he could, make gold out of nothing, he could make it go a long way.

Finance.

Walpole's administration, again, marks a stage in the evolution of cabinet government. Walpole has been called our first prime minister, because he practically appointed all his colleagues, and insisted that they should have the same opinions as himself. He, however, was no believer in cabinet councils, and preferred to discuss public affairs with two or three of his colleagues at the more convivial and less controversial dinner table. But if a minister differed from him he had to go—either to govern Ireland like Carteret

Development of Cabinet Government.

to hunt with his beagles at Richmond. Pope, the great friend of Walpole's chief opponents, has borne witness to his social qualities:

> "Seen him I have; but in his happier hour
> Of social pleasure ill exchanged for power:
> Seen him uncumbered with the venal tribe,
> Smile without art and win without a bribe".

(1724); or to be the first leader of an organized Opposition like Pulteney (1725), whose tongue Walpole feared, it was said, more than another man's sword; or to grow turnips like Townshend (1730), the brother-in-law and Norfolk neighbour of Walpole.

Though Walpole was supreme in his ministry, he had to encounter considerable opposition from other quarters. Bolingbroke, who had fled to the Continent on George I's accession, had been allowed to come back to England, and, though excluded, as one of the conditions of his return, from using his great powers of speech in the House of Lords, wielded his pen with great effect in a weekly paper called *The Craftsman*.[1] He and the Tories, though not very numerous themselves, had as their allies in opposing Walpole an increasing number of the older Whigs under Pulteney, who were discontented with Walpole's monopoly of power, and of the younger Whigs called "the Boys", including a rising statesman in William Pitt, who unsparingly attacked Walpole's system of bribery and corruption. Walpole, however, held his own. He had the support of both George I and George II, and especially of Queen Caroline until she died in 1737.[2] Moreover, his mixture of shrewdness, good sense, and good humour made him an excellent leader in the House of Commons; and these qualities, besides the power which he could exercise through the gift of places and pensions, and the possession by some of his chief supporters of "pocket boroughs", served to secure him a fairly docile majority.

Walpole and the Opposition.

Walpole was careful, moreover, to avoid raising great antagonisms. Whilst allowing the Dissenters in practice to hold office in towns and elsewhere, he would not, for fear of angering the Church, formally repeal the laws which forbade them to do so. In another matter he gave way to popular feeling. In 1733 he introduced an *Excise Bill*. Under

The Excise Bill, 1733.

[1] The first number of *The Craftsman* appeared at the end of 1726, and the last number in 1736. It was published at first twice and then once a week, and amongst its contributors, besides Bolingbroke himself, were Swift, Pulteney, Pope, and Arbuthnot.

[2] Queen Caroline on one occasion succeeded in convincing the king with arguments Walpole had used to her, though unconvinced by them herself. She had great influence over the king; cf. the old couplet:

"You may strut, dapper George, but 't will all be in vain;
We know 't is Queen Caroline, not you, that reign".

this Bill duties on wine and tobacco were to be paid, not on their arrival in port, but only if and when they were taken for *inlernal* consumption in Great Britain out of the warehouses where they were to be placed on arrival. The object of the Bill was to check smuggling, and to make London and other places free ports by allowing goods to be re-exported without paying any duty. The Bill, however, met with tremendous opposition. An army of excisemen, it was alleged, would be created, who would swamp the elections with their votes, and who would invade Englishmen's homes to see that the duty had been paid, reducing British subjects to a condition of slavery. The citizens of London prayed to be heard against the Bill, and sent a petition escorted by coaches that stretched from Westminster to Temple Bar. The soldiers were on the point of mutiny because they thought that the price of their tobacco would be raised. The whole country took up the cry of "No slavery, no excise", and numbers of people marched about with badges on their hats bearing this and similar inscriptions. In the House of Commons the Opposition attacked the Bill with great fury, and Walpole's majority sank to seventeen. When this occurred, Walpole felt he must yield. "This dance", he said, "will no further go"; and, to the great popular delight, the Bill was abandoned.[1]

Three years after the withdrawal of the Excise Bill, Walpole's Government became very unpopular in Scotland. As a result of the hated Union of 1707, the customs duties in that country had been increased so as to tally with those in England, and consequently every good Scot thought himself justified in eluding them. Smuggling was therefore regarded with an indulgent eye in Scotland, and was so general as to be almost one of its minor industries. In 1736 two notorious smugglers, who had robbed a custom-house officer, were convicted and ordered to be executed in Edinburgh. One of them made himself a popular hero by chivalrously aiding the escape of the other,[2] and there was consequently a huge and sympathetic crowd

The Porteous Riots, 1736.

[1] Even Samuel Johnson, some twenty years after, so far forgot the impartiality of a lexicographer as thus to define the word "excise" in his Dictionary: "a hateful tax levied upon commodities, and adjudged not by common judges of property, but by wretches hired by those to whom excise is paid".

[2] The two prisoners had planned to escape from prison by enlarging the window in their

at his execution. The execution over, there was some disorder, and stones were thrown at the town guard. Its commander, Captain Porteous, gave orders for the guard to fire, and some people were killed. Popular fury was aroused. Captain Porteous was tried and condemned to death. But he was reprieved by the Government, and the mob then took matters into its own hands and hanged him on a dyer's pole.[1] Walpole's Government accordingly tried to pass a Bill punishing the city of Edinburgh, but its terms were so stringent that they were opposed by all the Scottish members and had to be considerably modified. Walpole's position in Scotland was further weakened by the defection of the Duke of Argyll, who had enormous influence; consequently in the new Parliament of 1741 only six Scottish members supported Walpole.

Meanwhile Queen Caroline's death in 1737 had deprived Walpole of his chief ally, whilst in the same year the Prince of Wales joined the Opposition. Finally, the Opposition forced on the war with Spain in 1739 (p. 461), and Walpole's mismanagement of it helped to secure his defeat and resignation in 1742. Walpole's rule had not been an inspiring one. But his policy of peace abroad and inactivity at home had two results: it made the Hanoverian dynasty secure, and it gave the country a breathing space which enabled her to endure the exertions demanded during the later wars of the century. Moreover, Walpole's strong, clear common sense had been of great value in matters of practical administration, whilst his financial ability had done much, and would, but for a factious opposition, have done more to develop the prosperity and trade of the country.

Fall of Walpole, 1742.

To Walpole succeeded a ministry whose most prominent member was *Carteret*, and whose activity was chiefly shown in the War of the Austrian Succession; and to that another ministry commonly called the "*Broad-bottomed administration*", consisting of nearly all the chief Whigs

The Pelham ministry, 1744–54.

cell. One of them, however, being a person of considerable bulk, stuck in the aperture, and not only was unable to get out himself but prevented the egress of the other. But, on the following Sunday, he attacked the guard at the close of divine service, and enabled his fellow-prisoner to get away.

[1] See Scott's *Heart of Midlothian* for full account of the Porteous Riots.

under *Henry Pelham* and his brother, the Duke of Newcastle. That ministry, which lasted from 1744 to 1754, continued and ended the War of the Austrian Succession, and suppressed the Rebellion of 1745, and in home affairs pursued Walpole's quiescent policy. Only one matter of interest need be mentioned, and that was the reform of the calendar. Hitherto in Great Britain the old Roman calendar had been used, and not the corrected calendar adopted first by Gregory XIII in 1582, and subsequently by nearly all European nations. The old calendar was several days wrong, and the ministry, in order to rectify it, omitted some days in September, 1751, calling the 3rd of September the 14th. Great irritation was aroused by this change, many people thinking that they had been defrauded by the Government of these days; hence came the popular cry, "Give us back our eleven days". Another change was made at the same time, and the legal year in future was to begin on January 1st, and not, as heretofore, on March 25th.[1]

The Duke of Newcastle, 1754-6.

On Pelham's death, in 1754, the *Duke of Newcastle* succeeded as prime minister. He was a man of vast incompetence, always in a hurry and bustle and never doing anything. He has been described as a "hubble-bubble" man, his manner and speech resembling the bubbling of a Turkish pipe.[2] But his personal influence over various "pocket" boroughs returning members to the House of Commons, and his vast fortune spent in securing others, gave him a position which enabled him to be in high office almost continuously for over forty years. He and his ministry were so incapable that they could not survive the beginning of the Seven Years War (1756). The

[1] The most permanent monument of Pelham's administration was the foundation of the British Museum in 1753, but all that can be said to Pelham's credit is that "he was not unfriendly to the scheme". The money for it was raised by means of a lottery.

[2] Newcastle was for a long time responsible for the administration of the American colonies, and two stories are told of his ignorance in that capacity. After being minister for many years someone told him that Cape Breton was an island and was not on the mainland, and he exclaimed delightedly: "Cape Breton an island! Wonderful!—show it me in the map. So it is, sure enough. My dear sir, you always bring us good news. I must go and tell the king that Cape Breton is an island." On another occasion a general suggested that some defence was necessary for Annapolis; on which Newcastle, with his "evasive lisping hurry", replied: "Annapolis, Annapolis! Oh! yes, Annapolis must be defended; to be sure, Annapolis should be defended—pray, where is Annapolis?"

ministry which succeeded, however, found itself powerless without Newcastle's influence. Fortunately *Pitt and Newcastle* then combined in the summer of 1757 to form a ministry, Newcastle managing the patronage and business details whilst Pitt was left to conduct the great war with which his name will be for ever connected. But before Pitt and Newcastle could bring the Seven Years War to a conclusion, the death of George II, in 1760, changed the aspect of domestic politics, and the Whig ascendancy was, for the first time since 1714, seriously threatened.

Pitt and Newcastle, 1757–61.

4. Pitt and Wesley

In the early Hanoverian period, the nation, it has been said, had sunk into a condition of moral apathy rarely paralleled in our history. It was due, above all others, to two men, William Pitt and John Wesley, that Great Britain, towards the middle of the century, was roused from her torpor, and of these two men and their influence something must now be said. Pitt, after an education at Eton, went into the cavalry. He entered Parliament in 1735. He became an opponent, first as leader of "the Boys", of Walpole's corruption, and secondly, of Carteret's continental foreign policy; and the violent expression of his views was so congenial to the old Duchess of Marlborough that she left him a legacy of £10,000. Subsequently he had become paymaster of the forces in Pelham's administration, but had refused to take the enormous perquisites which had hitherto been connected with that office. From 1757 to 1761 Pitt was the real ruler of Great Britain. No doubt he was inconsistent, and in youth when in opposition attacked measures which he subsequently supported when in power. He has been described, and not without truth, as something of a charlatan. He loved ostentation and lacked simplicity. He was always something of an actor, and even for the most unimportant interviews his crutch and his sling (for he was a martyr to gout) were most carefully arranged.[1] And it must be admitted that his con-

Character and influence of Pitt.

[1] Pitt was very fond of reading aloud the tragedies of Shakespeare to his family, but, whenever he came to any light or comic parts, he used to give the book to someone else to read. "This anecdote", says a distinguished historian, "is characteristic of his whole life. He never unbent. He was always acting a part, always self-conscious, always aiming at a false and unreal dignity."

duct to other ministers was overbearing and at times almost intolerable.

But Pitt was a great man. As an orator he was superb. "His words", wrote one contemporary, "have sometimes frozen my young blood into stagnation and sometimes made it pace in such a hurry through my veins that I could scarce support it." Another said that you might as soon expect a "No" from an old maid as from the House of Commons when Pitt was in the height of his power.[1] Absolutely incorruptible himself, he and his son, the younger Pitt, did more than any other two men to raise the standard of English public life. Quite fearless, he had the courage to stand up for unpopular causes—as in the case of Byng—when he saw an injustice was being done. It was of course as a war minister that he was greatest, and of Pitt in that capacity something has already been said. But Pitt was one of those rare statesmen who had great views in all things. Unfortunately for Great Britain he only held high office from 1757 to 1761, and again for a brief period from 1766 to 1767. If he could have stayed in office longer, Ireland might have been pacified, America might not have been lost, our Indian Empire might have been at an earlier date organized, and parliamentary reform sooner accomplished. For not only had he great views himself, but like a prophet of old he could inspire a nation to noble deeds and high thoughts.

John Wesley's influence in the religious life of the nation was similar to that exercised by Pitt in the political life. Wesley had been educated at Charterhouse and Oxford. After taking orders, he returned to Oxford as a Fellow in 1729, and for the next six years was the leader of a small society for mutual improvement, the members of which, including his brother Charles, the famous hymn writer, and

John Wesley and the Methodist movement.

[1] Many stories illustrate the extraordinary power Pitt possessed over the House of Commons. On one occasion a member who was attempting to answer Pitt was overcome either by Pitt's glance or a few words which he spoke, and sat down in fear and confusion. Someone afterwards asked a person who was present "whether the House did not laugh at the ridiculous figure of the poor member". "No, sir," he replied, "we were all too much awed to laugh." On another occasion Pitt began a speech with the words "Sugar, Mr. Speaker". The combination of Pitt's somewhat theatrical gestures and appearance with such simple words as these caused some members to laugh. Pitt turned round on these members, repeated the word "sugar" three times, and then said, "Who will now dare to laugh at sugar?" And the members sank, we are told, into abashed silence.

George Whitefield, were known in the University by the nickname of Methodists. Subsequently Wesley was a minister for two years in Georgia, the newly founded colony in America. On his return to England he began the work which has made him so famous. In 1739 he built the first of his chapels at Bristol, and formed the first of his regular Methodist societies in London. Above all, the year 1739 saw the system of open-air preaching adopted which was to carry the message of the gospel to hundreds of thousands of people.

Activity of the Methodists.

The activity shown by John Wesley and his colleagues, Charles Wesley and Whitefield, was astonishing. Of the three, Whitefield was probably the greatest preacher, and he, during the thirty-four years of his ministry, is said to have preached on the average ten sermons a week to audiences numbering sometimes as many as thirty thousand.[1] His record, however, is surpassed by that of John Wesley, who, in the half century preceding his death in 1791, is estimated to have delivered forty thousand sermons, and to have travelled a quarter of a million of miles, the greater part of it on horseback. Their preaching affected all classes—the miners of Cornwall, the soldiers in the army, the negroes in Georgia, as well as a section of fashionable society in London. Nor was the activity of the three confined to England and Wales, for the whole world was their parish. Whitefield made over twelve journeys across the Atlantic, and Wesley had a missionary tour in Scotland when over eighty years of age.

Methodism and the Church of England.

Throughout his life Wesley remained a member of the Church of England. But gradually the movement which he initiated became independent of that Church. His doctrines concerning sin and conversion were disliked by many in the Anglican Church. The chapels

[1] No popular preacher has probably ever had such influence as Whitefield. He had a voice which could be heard by thirty thousand people in the open air, but which was managed with such skill that he could pronounce, a contemporary said, an unpromising word like Mesopotamia in a way to produce tears from his audience. Of his powers of vivid description many stories are related. Even such a pattern of propriety and aristocratic conduct as Lord Chesterfield, when Whitefield was relating the story of a blind man deserted by his dog and losing his way on a dangerous moor, lost all self-control, and bounded out of his seat as the blind man neared a precipice, exclaiming, "Good God! he's gone!" One of Whitefield's admirers held that a sermon of his would only reach its highest perfection at the fortieth repetition.

which he built were designed to be supplemental to the parish churches; before long they became rivals. Quite early in his career, in 1737, Wesley had instituted "lay" preachers, and in 1784 he even began to ordain ministers; and after his death the Wesleyans formed themselves into definite and separate organizations.[1]

Influence of Wesley on the English nation.

Yet John Wesley is not to be remembered only as the founder of a new religious organization. He was a great social reformer as well as a great religious leader, and to him, perhaps in a greater degree than to any other man, is due the increased kindliness and humaneness which was exhibited in the later part of the eighteenth century, and the development of practical efforts to deal with the problems of poverty, inadequate though those efforts still were. But above all else we may put his influence on the religious life of the whole British people. A great French thinker, who visited the country soon after the accession of George I, was of opinion that there was no such thing as religion in England; and there is no doubt that the early period of the Hanoverian rule was singularly lacking in religious activities and enthusiasms. It is the imperishable glory of John Wesley that he restored Christianity, as has been said, to its place as a living force in the personal creed of men and in the life of the nation.

[1] How much the various Methodist societies have grown may be realized by statistics. On Wesley's death, in 1791, the members of his societies numbered seventy-six thousand, and the preachers three hundred; at the present time, throughout the world, there are nearly fifty thousand preachers and not far short of thirty million members belonging to the Wesleyan communities.

XXXVII. Great Britain and her Relations with America after the Seven Years War, 1763-83

We must now resume the story of the great series of wars in which Great Britain was engaged during the eighteenth century. The twenty years that follow the Seven Years War are, if amongst the most interesting, certainly also amongst the most disappointing in the history of our empire. The Seven Years War had left Great Britain triumphant. She had then, however, to organize her empire. But, at this most critical period, the king and the aristocracy which governed Great Britain were unsympathetic, and, above all, ignorant. The ministries were constantly changing and had no settled convictions; and later, Lord North's ministry, though more stable—it lasted from 1769–82—was also more incompetent. Above all, there was no great statesman capable of dealing with the situation, except perhaps William Pitt, who was too ill to make more than fitful appearances, and Edmund Burke, who never held high office. And so Great Britain went blundering forward, and lost the larger part of her empire in the West, whilst she with difficulty held her own in the East. Learning by experience is proverbially costly; but our statesmen made the cost in these twenty years unnecessarily high.

Great Britain and her empire, 1763–83.

The difficulties, however, which were to arise with our American colonies were not solely due to British statesmen. Our very success in the Seven Years War made our position in North America one of peculiar difficulty. "With the triumph of Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham", wrote a distinguished historian, "began the history of the United States." The conquest of Canada freed the American colonies from danger of absorption by the French; and by so doing enabled them to become independent of the mother country. Above all, the great expenses that fell, as a consequence of the war, upon the mother country led to an attempt to tax the colonies, which caused both the Puritan

Influence of Seven Years War on American colonies.

democrats of the North and the Anglican, aristocratic, and slave-owning planters of the South to unite for the first time in a common opposition.

Up till the end of the Seven Years War, no other colonies in the world had been so well treated as those in British America. In matters of government the colonies had no great grievances. The governor of each colony was, however, generally appointed by the Crown, and there were plenty of minor disputes between the governors and the colonial assemblies; and the British Parliament could—and did occasionally—pass laws which were binding upon the colonies. In matters of trade, Great Britain no doubt regarded her colonies as a source of wealth. Consequently some of the chief colonial products, such as tobacco and cotton, could be exported only to Great Britain. The manufacture in America of steel or woollen goods, or even of hats, was limited or forbidden, so as not to compete with British imports. All goods from Europe had first to be landed in Great Britain, and the colonies were also subject to the Navigation Act. No one now denies that these restrictions were unwise; but it must be remembered that Great Britain erred in company with all other mother countries—only to a less degree. Moreover, the colonies had compensations. Many of their products, such as grain and fish and rum, they could export where they liked. If the American colonies were only allowed to send their tobacco to Great Britain, the inhabitants of Great Britain were only allowed to smoke American tobacco. And the restrictions on American trade were largely evaded by systematic smuggling.

Trade restrictions.

It was the attempted suppression of this smuggling that first aroused the opposition of the American colonies. *George Grenville* had succeeded Bute as prime minister in 1763. Being a lawyer and accustomed to examine details, he made inquiries, and found that the revenue from the American customs was only about £2000 a year, and not unnaturally he tried to put some check on the vast amount of smuggling which these small figures indicated—a step strongly resented by the Americans. Shortly afterwards Grenville decided that it was necessary for the defence of the American colonies,

Grenville's policy, 1763-5.

not only against the French but against the Indian tribes, to keep a small standing army in America. He was probably right in this decision. And, considering the financial position of the mother country, Grenville was not unreasonable in thinking that the colonies themselves should contribute something towards their own defence. For the resources of Great Britain were being subjected to a severe test. The Seven Years War had nearly doubled the National Debt. Taxation was heavy and included even taxes on wheels and window panes. Moreover, Britain's position was threatened by a coalition of France and Spain, countries which were preparing for an attack in the near future.

Nor was Grenville's particular proposal unreasonable. He suggested that the colonies should pay one-third of the expense of this army by means of an Act under which all legal documents should bear stamps. Moreover, he put forward this proposal in a very tentative and moderate way. He allowed a year's delay for its discussion, and told the agents of the colonies that, if the colonies would raise the money in any other way, he would be quite content; and only when they failed to suggest any alternative scheme was the *Stamp Act* passed through the British Parliament (1765). Was Grenville justified in producing his Stamp Act? Legally the British Parliament had undoubtedly the right to pass the Stamp Act imposing this taxation on the colonies. But it was natural that a liberty-loving people should object to being taxed by a Parliament in which they were unrepresented, and which belonged to a country three thousand miles away that would lessen its own burdens by the amount of money it could raise from them. "No taxation without representation" has been the watchword of English liberty; and it proved a cry which it was difficult for Englishmen to resist. Consequently the colonies used the year which Grenville had allowed them not for discussion but for agitation. When the Act was finally passed and came into operation, there were riots, a governor's house was sacked,[1] and stamp collectors burnt in effigy. No one used the stamps; and—most ominous of all—

The Stamp Act, 1765.

[1] Unfortunately it contained an invaluable collection of historical papers and books, which were all destroyed.

delegates from nine out of the thirteen colonies met together to protest, thus showing a unity of purpose which they had never before exhibited.

The opinions of British statesmen differed when news of these proceedings reached England. The king and Grenville were for Great Britain's legal rights. Others, like Burke, thought the Act inexpedient, and were not concerned with its legality. Pitt thought that the British Parliament had no right to tax the colonies, and proclaimed that the Americans would be slaves if they had not resisted. Meanwhile, on Grenville's retirement from office, Rockingham succeeded as prime minister. Adopting a conciliatory policy, he repealed the Stamp Act, though an Act was passed at the same time declaring that Great Britain had a right to tax the colonies. The Americans were delighted; and all danger of serious trouble seemed to be at an end.

Repeal of Stamp Act, 1766.

Great questions, however, when they are once raised, seldom lie dormant for long. Moreover, on the American side, there were extremists who wished to reduce British control to a vanishing-point, and who were on the look-out for quarrels to effect their purpose. The character of the colonists in the north—and, above all, in Boston, the capital of Massachusetts—was, in Pitt's phrase, "umbrageous" (i.e. they took umbrage easily) and quarrelsome, and their conduct was sometimes very irritating to the mother country. Meantime, at home, the politicians were not statesmen enough to deal with a difficult situation. As a consequence a series of disputes, insignificant in themselves, became by exaggeration and misunderstanding so magnified that finally, as has been said, one side saw in coercion and the other in secession the only solution of the difficulty.

Development of quarrel.

The first dispute was due to a brilliant and unreliable man, by name *Townshend*, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Chatham's ministry. In 1767, at a time when Chatham was totally incapacitated by illness, Townshend announced his intention of raising an income of £40,000 a year by *imposing duties on tea, glass, and paper* imported into the American colonies. He contended

Townshend's new duties, 1767, and their partial abolition, 1769.

that as these were external taxes levied at the ports, and not internal taxes, the colonists could not object. It is needless to say that they did object, and the agitation, led by the men of Massachusetts, was reopened. Accordingly, in 1770, *Lord North's* ministry—which had come into office in that year, and was to remain in power for the next twelve years—gave way, and the duties on glass and paper were abolished. But, with incredible folly, the duty on tea was retained, in order to assert the right of taxing.

Unfortunate incidents, 1770–3.

Small incidents are easily exaggerated when two peoples are irritated with one another, and it was unfortunate that at this time various occurrences exasperated feeling on both sides. We can only refer to two of these incidents. British regiments had been subjected to various kinds of insult from the townspeople in Boston. Finally a mob surrounded some soldiers, and after calling them "Rascals, lobsters, and bloody backs",[1] proceeded to snowball them. In the confusion a volley was fired, and three people were killed. The affair was magnified into a massacre, even into "the massacre", by the colonists, and great indignation was aroused (1770). The other incident inflamed feeling in Great Britain. One of the king's ships, which was engaged in repressing smuggling, was boarded one night by some American colonists and burnt (1772), and the perpetrators of this outrage were never punished.

The Boston Tea-party, 1773.

Other events soon afterwards finally brought about war. Lord North, in order to assist the East India Company—at that time in great financial difficulties—allowed it to export its tea direct to America without going to Great Britain first; consequently the company would not only save expense by making a shorter journey, but would also avoid paying any duty in Great Britain, and would only have to pay the small duty levied on tea imported into America. The more extreme of the colonists, however, thought this was only a trick of the Government in order to reconcile the colonists to the tax by cheapening the cost of tea, and were determined that the tea should not be allowed to be brought into America whilst the duty existed. When the ships of the company arrived in *Boston*

[1] Because they were liable to be flogged.

a number of men disguised as Mohawks boarded, and threw their three hundred and forty chests of tea into the sea (1773).

Great Britain could scarcely be expected to pass over such lawlessness. Acts were passed suspending the constitution of Massachusetts and closing the port of Boston. Gage, a soldier, was made Governor of Massachusetts, and additional troops were sent out. The other colonies, however, supported Massachusetts, and a Congress representing all the colonies except Georgia was held at Philadelphia. Lord North then tried conciliation, but it was too late. A skirmish had already taken place at Lexington (1775), and the war had begun. The incidents narrated above seem scarcely adequate to occasion a great war, but we must not forget that below them lay important issues. "The real difficulty", it has been well said, "was that Great Britain would not consent to a partnership, which was the only solution, but insisted upon a dependency. The American colonies therefore hardened their hearts, and would accept nothing short of independence." The self-governing colony was to be a product of the next century.

Outbreak of war, 1775.

To conduct a campaign[1] three thousand miles away, in a country a thousand miles long and covered with forest, was, for Great Britain, a difficult task. But the task should not have been insuperable, considering the circumstances of her opponents. The American

The War of American Independence, 1775–83.

[1] The following summary of the war will make it more intelligible:—

	Political History	Military Operations—(v) victory; (d) defeat	
1775.	Congress assumes sovereign authority.	Lexington; Boston blockaded; Bunker's Hill. American expedition to Canada.	
1776.	July 4. Declaration of Independence.	Evacuation of Boston; Brooklyn (v); capture of New York; occupation of New Jersey; Trenton (d).	
1777.		Brandywine (v); Saratoga (d).	
		(*a*) *America*	(*b*) *Maritime and India*
1778.	France declares war *v.* England; death of Chatham.	Evacuation of Philadelphia.	
1779.	Spain declares war *v.* England.	Savannah captured (v).	Siege of Gibraltar begins.
1780.	Holland declares war *v.* England. Armed Neutrality.	Charlestown captured (v); Camden (v); execution of André.	Hyder Ali invades Carnatic.
1781.		Guildford (v); Yorktown (d).	Porto Novo (v).
1782.	Lord North resigns; negotiations for peace.		Loss of Minorca (d); battle of Saints off St. Lucia (v); Siege of Gibraltar raised (v).
1783.	Peace of Versailles.		


CANADA
Quebec
Montreal
R. St. Lawrence
C. Breton I.
Louisburg
Nova Scotia
New England
Lake Champlain
Crown Pt.
Ticonderoga
L. Ontario
Saratoga
L. Erie
NEW YORK
Hudson R.
Lexington
Bunkers Hill
Boston
New York
Long Island
Brooklyn
Trenton
PENNSYLVANIA
Philadelphia
Brandywine
Delaware R.
NEW JERSEY
MARYLAND
Washington
DELAWARE
VIRGINIA
Yorktown
Guildford Court House
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
Camden
Charleston
GEORGIA
Florida
New Orleans
Mississippi R.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Map of the
UNITED STATES
to illustrate the
War of Independence 1775-83
and
War of 1812-14
English Miles
0 100 200 300 400

colonist did not like moving far from his home. Moreover, he only enlisted for short periods, and therefore might leave, and not infrequently did leave, his fellow colonists in the crisis of a campaign. He was, besides, inclined to be insubordinate, "regarding", said one general, "his officer as no more than a broomstick", especially if serving under the command of officers from any other colony but his own. The Congress, which supervised the generals, was loquacious and incompetent, whilst "peculation and speculation", in the words of the commander-in-chief, were rife amongst the contractors. And finally, a large number of the colonists were either loyal to the mother country or indifferent to the cause of both combatants.

But the British made the mistake—not unusual with them—of underestimating their enemy; one expert, for instance, declared that four regiments would be sufficient to conquer America. Moreover, they made inadequate preparations for the dispatch of reinforcements to the army in America when they saw that war was probable; and they began the war in a half-hearted way, with ideas of conciliation and compromise, forgetting "that it is impossible to wage war on the principles of peace". The British, also, not only failed to produce a great general, and fought largely with hired German troops, but possessed in Lord George Germaine—the Lord George Sackville who refused to charge at Minden—a minister of war who was to exhibit conspicuous incapacity. The colonists, on the other hand, had in a Virginian planter, *George Washington* by name, a man as commander-in-chief who, without being perhaps a great general, was a thorough gentleman, upright and truthful, untiring in organization, and persistently courageous and steadfast even in the darkest periods of the war.[1]

During the *first three years* of the war (1775–7) the British missed their opportunities. The military operations of the first year (1775) centred round *Boston*, which was held by the British troops. The campaign opened with an attempt made by a detachment from these

Lexington and Bunker's Hill, 1775.

[1] Washington came of an old American family, and was a country gentleman of wealth and position. He had fought against the French and Indians before and during the Seven Years War, having been made adjutant of the Virginian forces at the age of nineteen and commander-in-chief at the age of twenty-three; in Braddock's unfortunate expedition of 1754 he had shown great bravery, and had four shot-holes in his coat.

troops to seize some military stores a few miles away from Boston; on its way back to Boston it was somewhat severely handled, especially at *Lexington*. This attack showed that the Americans would fight, but the British commander, General *Gage*, was both over-confident and dilatory. He made a quite unnecessary frontal attack upon an entrenched position on the top of a hill situated on a peninsula overlooking Boston, and known as *Bunker's Hill*. It is not surprising that his forces, burdened with three days' provisions, and marching through long grass on a hot midsummer day, should have only succeeded in taking the hill at the third attempt, and with the loss of two-fifths of their number. Later on Gage wasted his opportunities by not vigorously attacking Washington, who was besieging Boston with hardly any ammunition. Fortunately, however, a brilliant attack by the Americans upon Canada failed in its chief object, the capture of Quebec, owing to its able defence by Carleton. Moreover, in 1774, the British Government had passed an Act, known as the Quebec Act, which by judicious concessions, especially with regard to the Roman Catholic religion, had conciliated the French Canadians; and hence the invading army found no support in Canada.

In the second year (1776) *Howe* was the British commander. Capable but indolent, he was, as a strong Whig, inclined to sympathize with the American cause. He evacuated Boston and took his troops south to Long Island. There he defeated Washington's troops at *Brooklyn*. But his victory was not decisive owing to his failure to pursue the enemy; and his negligence gave Washington the opportunity of withdrawing all his troops the night after the battle across the mile of water that separated the island from the mainland. Howe followed and took New York, though tradition says that his presence at a luncheon party prevented his capturing a large detached force; he then defeated Washington in another battle, overran New Jersey, and occupied the country up to the river Delaware before going into winter quarters. The outlook was black for the colonists; but at the end of the year the American fortunes revived with a brilliant attack by Washington upon a Hessian regiment, which was cut to pieces on Christmas Day

Howe's operations, 1776.

at *Trenton*, one of the advanced posts on the Delaware, whilst the Hessians were celebrating the occasion not wisely but too well.

The third year (1777) witnessed a muddle which ended in a great disaster for the mother country. There were two plans proposed to the British Government for the year's operations. The first was that of Burgoyne, who was a member of Parliament and a playwright as well as a general, and who had been given command of the army of the north. He was to advance south from Canada and Howe was to advance north from New York. The two forces were to unite, hold the line of the river Hudson, and isolate the New England colonies. The other plan was that of Howe, who wanted to attack Philadelphia. Lord George Germaine agreed to both, but by a piece of gross carelessness did not—till too late—give Howe definite instructions so to arrange his attack upon Philadelphia as to be able to return in time to co-operate with the expedition from Canada.[1] Consequently *Burgoyne* never obtained the expected help from the south on which his success depended. He took Ticonderoga, but his difficulties increased as he progressed. His Indian allies deserted because of the hunting season coming on. The country was thickly wooded and military supplies were inadequate. Finally, outnumbered by four to one, he had to surrender with four thousand men at *Saratoga* (October). That surrender was decisive in the history of the war. The nations of Europe had been looking with no friendly eye on Great Britain. A disaster of that magnitude converted their unfriendliness into hostility, and France, two months after she had heard of it, concluded an alliance with the "United States".[2] Meantime Howe had won Philadelphia, and defeated Washington once again at the battle of *Brandywine*, whose army was consequently reduced to the direst straits—but Howe's success lay lightly in the balance against Saratoga.

Plans of campaign, 1777.

The surrender at Saratoga.

[1] There is a story that a letter with such instructions had been drafted in time at the War Office, but that Germaine went out of town before it was fair-copied, and forgot to sign and send it.

[2] As the revolting colonies were called after the "Declaration of Independence" had been issued in the previous year.

During the *next three years* (1778–80) our enemies gradually increased, and the sphere of our military operations was correspondingly extended. France joined in the war against us in 1778, and Spain in 1779. Moreover, neutral powers claimed that belligerents had no right to capture enemy's goods on board a neutral ship. This doctrine—briefly called "free ships free goods"—Great Britain did not recognize; and disputes over this, and over the definition of what articles should be included in contraband of war, led in 1780 to the British declaring war on Holland, and to Russia, Denmark, and Sweden threatening hostilities upon Great Britain by forming an Armed Neutrality. As a consequence of these fresh enemies, the war spread to the West Indies—with which at that time one-quarter of British trade was carried on—and to India, whilst in the Mediterranean Gibraltar was besieged. Great Britain was in an extremely critical position. The French navy had been much improved, and the British fleets were not sufficiently superior to cripple the French fleets at the outset of the war. Moreover, Great Britain had not, as in former years, a continental ally to absorb the French energies in a campaign on land. Under these circumstances modern military critics think that the British should have confined their efforts to blockading the enemy's ports. Instead of that the fleet was scattered, and the British tried to hold too many isolated positions. But, unfortunately, Chatham, who might have conducted such a mighty war on sound principles, died in 1778, and from the other politicians of the period it was hopeless to expect great or consistent designs.

Extension of war, 1778-80.

In America, also, the conditions were entirely altered after 1777. Great Britain no longer held command of the sea, and the French fleet was to form a decisive factor. We must briefly review the events. In 1778 Clinton, the new commander, evacuated Philadelphia and retired to New York. In 1780 the British determined to undertake operations in the south, as there were many loyalists there. Charlestown, the capital of South Carolina, along with its six thousand defenders, was brilliantly captured. Cornwallis, the most energetic of the British generals, beat Gates, the conqueror of Saratoga, at *Camden*. He then invaded North Carolina, and

The war in America, 1778-81.

in 1781 defeated Greene, the best of the American generals, at *Guildford Court-House*, though with severe losses to himself. Finally, he advanced into Virginia and effected a junction with another force.

The surrender at York Town, 1781.

The Americans were now in despair. But meanwhile what had been gained in the south whilst Cornwallis was there was lost after his departure, owing to the small number of troops he could leave behind. Moreover, Clinton would not or could not spare any reinforcements from New York for the further operations of Cornwallis himself. The latter, therefore, retired to the coast, to *York Town*, expecting to be supported by the British fleet. But he was blockaded instead by the French fleet which the British admirals in the West Indies had failed to defeat, and Washington arrived in command of a superior force to cut off his retreat by land. The position of Cornwallis was then hopeless; and, after an attempt to break out, he was forced to surrender (1781). The navy, as someone said at the time, "had the casting vote in the contest"; and the surrender at York Town practically ended the war. Charlestown was subsequently recaptured by the colonists, and only New York was left to the British.

The war elsewhere, 1779–82.

Elsewhere things had been going badly. Nearly all the West Indian islands were lost, except Barbados and Jamaica. Gibraltar was hard pressed. The British position in India was precarious. Early in 1782 Minorca was captured by the French, an event which led to the fall of Lord North's ministry. But two successes in that year enabled Great Britain to retire from the war with some credit. In April, Rodney fought the French fleet off Dominique in the West Indies in a battle known as the "*Battle of the Saints*". He won a great victory, his fleet succeeding in breaking through the French line-of-battle, and the French flagship itself being captured.[1] In September a combined attack upon *Gibraltar* by the

[1] When war broke out between France and Great Britain, Rodney was at Paris in an impecunious condition, and his creditors refused to let him go home. A French nobleman, however, chivalrously came to his rescue with a loan, and Rodney returned. During his two and a half years of command in the American War, Rodney captured a French, a Spanish, and a Dutch admiral, and added twelve line-of-battle ships, all taken from the enemy, to the British navy, including the *Ville de Paris*, the great ship which the city of Paris had given to the French king.

French and Spaniards with forty-nine ships of the line and ten floating batteries on the sea side, and with an army of forty thousand men on the land side, signally failed, owing to the pertinacity of Eliott, the governor, and the seven thousand men under his command. Shortly afterwards a British fleet brought final relief to the garrison, which had withstood a siege for three years seven months and twelve days.

Overtures of peace were then made, and in 1783 treaties were concluded at Versailles. The independence of the United States was recognized, and, in spite of their efforts to save them, the British had to leave such of the loyalists who did not emigrate to Canada to the mercy or rather to the vengeance of their fellow colonists. Great Britain gave up to Spain, Minorca and Florida; and to France, Tobago, Senegal, and Goree, besides restoring to her St. Lucia and the Indian settlements which had been taken from France during the war.

The Treaties of Versailles, 1783.

The American War of Independence deprived Great Britain of one empire; but it strengthened the foundations of another, which may one day be even greater. The loyalists who had remained faithful to the mother country in the war found their position so intolerable in the United States that a great many of them—known subsequently as the United Empire Loyalists—emigrated to Canada, east of the districts occupied by the French. There they multiplied and prospered. But the differences of race, religion, and temperament caused friction between the French and the English; and finally the British Government in 1791—by the Canada Act—divided Canada into two parts, an eastern and a western, nominating a governor to each, and allowing to each a certain amount of self-government. For a time this arrangement worked. And in the war of 1812 the United States found that their attempt to detach Canada from her loyalty, either by negotiation or by coercion, was to fail. But later, grave difficulties arose with the mother country, the final solution of which, however, as we shall see, was more successful than in the case of the United States.

Influence of war upon Canada.

XXXVIII. Great Britain and India, 1763-1823

We turn from the West to the East, from America to India, where these twenty years, from 1763–83, are hardly less important. Two things must be borne in mind. First, India was still in a state of anarchy. The boundaries of States were constantly shifting; there was no such thing, it was said at the time, as a frontier in India. Adventurers sprang up who carved out new States for themselves, or usurped the thrones of old ones; and the Great Mogul Emperor was under the tutelage now of one potentate and then of another. In the second place, the East India Company was in a very undefined and uncertain position after the Seven Years War was over. The Nabob of the Carnatic and the Nizam of Hyderabad were its allies. It possessed some territory, but not much, on the east coast, and round Bombay and Madras. In Bengal, however, its position was peculiar. Except for Calcutta and some districts near it, the Nabob still governed that province. But he was the Company's nominee, and—put briefly—it may be said that his object was to extract as much money as possible from the country, whilst the Company's officials collected from the Nabob what money and privileges they could obtain, collectively for the Company and individually for themselves.

Condition of India, 1763.

Such a position in Bengal was bound to lead to difficulties, and it very quickly did. The Nabob who had succeeded Meer Jaffier quarrelled with the Company, massacred some Europeans at Patna, and fled to his neighbour, the Nabob of Oudh. Both Nabobs, however, were defeated at the decisive battle of *Buxar* (1764). It was necessary then to regulate our position. Fortunately *Clive* became Governor of Bengal six months after the battle, and in the short space of twenty-two months made great changes (1765–7). In the first place, he obtained from the Mogul Emperor the financial administration of Bengal and Behar; and thus the East India Company became practically the governors of a country three-

Clive's reforms, 1765–7.

quarters the size of France. Secondly, he made an alliance with the Nabob of Oudh, his idea being that the Nabob's territory might be a useful buffer against aggressions from the west, either on the part of the Mahrattas or the Afghans. Thirdly, and above all, he supplemented the inadequate salaries of the officials, and forbade them to take part in private trading—thus initiating the series of reforms which was eventually to make the British rule in India, so far as British officials at all events were concerned, perhaps the purest in the world. It is sad to think that Clive should have come home to be attacked in Parliament for corruption,[1] and soon afterwards, under stress of disease and anxiety, to commit suicide (1774).

Trade and not conquest had in the past been the object of the East India Company, good dividends rather than warlike distinctions. Consequently the British Government had not interfered with the Company, beyond renewing its charter from time to time. But now that the Company had become the owner of a vast territory, the British Government was bound to assume some portion of the responsibility, more especially as after Clive's departure matters fell into great confusion. Consequently, in *1773*, a *Regulating Act* was passed. A governor-general and council of four members were appointed, with control over all the Company's possessions in India. Hence some unity of control was secured. But the Act was in other respects unsatisfactory. The governor-general was liable to be much hampered by the council, and both were exposed to some interference from the judges who were appointed under the same Act.

The Regulating Act, 1773.

The first governor-general was *Warren Hastings*.[2] Thwarted now by the council, now by the incompetent governments of Bombay or Madras, with a temper, as he said, "almost fermented into vinegar by the weight of affairs and by everlasting teasing", he yet man-

Warren Hastings Governor-general, 1774–85.

[1] It was in the course of his examination before a parliamentary committee that Clive, describing the temptations to which he was subjected, exclaimed, "By God, Mr. Chairman, at this moment I stand astonished at my own moderation!"

[2] He was a Westminster boy, and had been sent to India at an early age, to the great grief of his headmaster, who thought his classical attainments would be wasted in that arid and commercial atmosphere.

aged to do a vast amount. He divided Bengal into districts for purposes of government, arranged its land revenue, and organized its civil service.

Above all, Warren Hastings by his resourcefulness and courage saved our position in India at a critical time. The disaster at Saratoga and the consequent alliance of the French with the colonists had its effect upon affairs in the East no less than in the West. French agents intrigued with the Mahrattas, and Warren Hastings found himself involved in a war with fighting tribes who were almost a match for our arms. Moreover, in Southern India the French secured in Suffren an admiral, and in Hyder Ali an ally who brought our Indian Empire to the verge of ruin. Hyder Ali, who had usurped the throne of Mysore, was, though ignorant of the alphabet, a very remarkable man. In alliance with the French, he suddenly invaded the plains of the Carnatic, and in three weeks had wellnigh extinguished our power (1778).[1] But Hastings was equal to the occasion. Within twenty-four hours of hearing the news at Calcutta he had made his plan of campaign. Every available man and munition of war was hurried south, and the veteran Eyre Coote—the victor of Wandewash—was appointed to direct the operations. After arduous campaigns, Coote, in 1781, won at *Porto Novo*, though outnumbered by ten to one, a decisive battle, and in the following year Hyder Ali died. At sea, meanwhile, Suffren had found in Hughes as tough a fighter as himself, though a weaker tactician, and, whilst his own captains were jealous and insubordinate, those of Hughes were unselfish and devoted. Five sea-battles were fought in little more than a year, but Suffren was unable to claim a decided advantage.[2] Our position in India was saved, and treaties were finally made both with the Mahrattas and with Tippoo Sahib, Hyder Ali's successor, the one shortly before and the other shortly after the Treaty of Versailles of 1783.

India during the War of American Independence, 1778–82.

Warren Hastings had not only, however, to fight and to organize,

[1] There is a celebrated description of this invasion, and of the havoc it wrought, in Burke's speech on the Debts of the Nabob of Arcot.

[2] After the war was over, the French and part of the British fleet met at the Cape of Good Hope, and the captains of the British ships at once hastened in a body to pay their respects to the great French commander.

but also to secure dividends for the shareholders of the East India Company. His expenses, indeed, were so great that he committed actions for which he was impeached soon after his return home. Into the details of his famous trial, which lasted for a hundred and forty-five days and lingered over seven years (1788–95), we have no space to enter. He was finally acquitted, but Burke, the great orator of Warren Hastings' time, and Macaulay, the great historian of a subsequent generation, unsparingly condemned him. Of some charges, however, modern investigations show that he was quite innocent. He did not, for instance, connive at the hanging of a famous Hindoo, Nuncomar by name, on an unjust charge of forgery because Nuncomar was on the point of exposing Hastings' own acts of corruption.[1] Nor did he, in order to extort money very unjustly from the blameless mother and grandmother of the Nabob of Oudh, cruelly torture their blameless ministers; the truth being that the Begums—as the mother and grandmother were called—had departed from Oudh with a large sum of money which really belonged to the State, and that probably only slight coercion was needed to induce the ministers to return it.

Charges against Warren Hastings.

In other matters Warren Hastings may have acted unwisely, as, for instance, when he let troops out on hire to the Nabob of Oudh for the suppression of the Rohillas, a turbulent tribe of Afghans; or inflicted upon the Rajah of Benares an enormous fine because he refused to pay a sum of money for the expenses of the war. But though it is impossible to justify everything that Clive or Hastings did, we must remember that to the former is due the beginning of our Empire in India, and that the latter not only succeeded in retaining, in the darkest days of our Imperial existence, every acre of land that we then possessed in India, but in leaving our dominions strengthened and organized. Warren Hastings is a not unworthy beginner of that long line of governor-generals and viceroys of whom it has been said that they represent a higher level of ruling qualities than has been attained by any line of hereditary sovereigns, or by any line of elected presidents.

[1] Nuncomar was hanged for forgery, but there is no reason for believing that the decision was an unjust one, or that Warren Hastings had anything to do with it.

It may be convenient at this stage to proceed with the history of India during the forty years after Warren Hastings' retirement from India. Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773 had proved a failure. Consequently, just previously to the retirement of Warren Hastings, the younger Pitt passed, in 1784, an Act reorganizing the government of our possessions in India. The governor-general was given greater powers, and henceforth, subject to a Board of Control sitting in London, directed the politics and the diplomacy of our Indian Empire. In future the governor-general was, as a rule, a person of high birth and connections sent out from Great Britain; and as both the governor-general and the Board of Control were appointed by the king acting on the advice of his ministers, the British Government became directly responsible for our Indian policy. In the appointment of other officials, however, and in matters of trade the East India Company was left supreme, though the Government had to confirm the higher appointments.

India. Pitt's India Act, 1784.

The first governor-general under the new system was the *Marquis Cornwallis* (1786–93), the defender of York Town. In his administration three points deserve notice. In the first place, by his own personal example and by his measures he still further purified the administration. Secondly, he made in Bengal a permanent settlement of the land revenue, by which the tax-collectors in that province—*zemindars* as they were called—were practically converted into landlords paying a fixed rent to the government, a policy the expediency of which has been much debated. Thirdly, though he left Great Britain with the intention of pursuing a peaceful policy, he found himself obliged to make war on Tippoo Sahib of Mysore. After a skilful campaign he was successful, and forced his adversary to make peace and to lose half his territories.[1]

Marquis Cornwallis Governor-general, 1786–93.

After an interval, Richard Wellesley, better known as the *Marquis Wellesley*, the elder brother of the great soldier who eventually became Duke of Wellington, was made governor-general. A brilliant scholar at Eton, he obtained this office

[1] Cornwallis found, like subsequent viceroys, that his work was very laborious and harassing. "I have a great deal more business every day", he wrote to his son at Eton, "than you have in a whole school-day, and I never get a whole holiday."

at the age of thirty-five. He found on his arrival in India, in 1798, a situation which required the exercise of all his abilities. French ambitions were reviving. French officers, by drilling and organizing the troops of native rulers, had not only improved those troops immensely but had obtained very great influence for themselves—one of them was deified after his death and is still worshipped in Southern India. Tippoo Sahib, who proved himself a hard-working ruler as well as a brave and resourceful soldier, had made an alliance with the French in order to realize his supreme object—the downfall of the British. Above all, three weeks after Wellesley reached Madras, Napoleon himself started on the Egyptian expedition, and, if successful, might have proceeded to India (p. 528).

Marquis Wellesley Governor-general, 1798–1805.

Into the details of Wellesley's great proconsulship limits of space forbid us to enter, and we must only allude to its chief results. First, Wellesley persuaded the Nizam of Hyderabad to expel the French officers in his service, and arranged that, in return for the Nizam giving up part of his territory, the East India Company should maintain an army for his defence. Then he turned against Tippoo Sahib, and the brilliant capture of *Seringapatam* by Baird resulted in Tippoo's death.[1] A large part of Mysore was annexed by the Company, a small part was given to the Nizam, and the remainder was handed over to the representative of the old Hindu dynasty which had ruled there before its expulsion by Hyder Ali. Other annexations in Southern India followed, the result of which was that most of the Carnatic came under direct British control. Hence our territories in the south were enormously extended.

Wellesley's policy in the south.

In the north, Wellesley's operations were no less important. He made a treaty with the Nabob of Oudh similar to that made with the Nizam, the Company in exchange for territory, including Rohilcund, maintaining an army for the Nabob's defence. War subsequently followed with some of the Mahratta leaders, of whom the most formidable was

Wellesley's policy in the north.

[1] He was buried with military honours under an escort of British grenadiers, and his family was taken under British protection. The last of his sons, whom Queen Victoria was much interested in seeing in 1854, died at Calcutta in 1877.

Sindhia, whose troops had been trained by French officers. Arthur Wellesley—the future Duke of Wellington—won the battles of *Assaye* and *Argaum* in 1803, the former by an attack of superb audacity against an army twice his strength. Lake won the battle of *Laswarri* and captured Delhi, and with its capture the Mogul emperor came under British control. Later on came a war with Holkar, another Mahratta leader, whose irregular horse were famous throughout India. Against him our army met with a disaster, and the East India Company and the British Government, already frightened by the immensity of the recent annexations, and the cost of the military operations, recalled Wellesley in 1805. Under Wellesley important reforms had been made in administration. But it is chiefly for his extension of our empire that he is remembered; for in the space of seven years he had made our territories continuous from Delhi to Calcutta and from Calcutta to Cape Comorin; he had destroyed or weakened our most dangerous foes; he had closed India to the French, and had exalted Great Britain to be the suzerain power in India.

For nearly ten years after Wellesley's departure little occurred in India. It was a period of inaction and of non-intervention.

Lord Hastings Governor-general, 1814–23.

But the anarchy in various parts of India soon necessitated British action. Enormous bands of brigands, "human jackals", roamed over Central India, burning and killing and robbing wherever they went. Sometimes these *Pindaris*, as they were called, crossed into British territory and did immense damage. Such a state of things could not continue, and on *Lord Hastings*' arrival as governor-general (1814–23) our policy was changed into one of action. Lord Hastings first had a war with *Nepaul*—the home of the brave Gurkhas—which led to some annexation of territory and to a satisfactory settlement of our relations with that country. In 1817 came the struggle with the Pindaris, which led also to a war with the Mahrattas. The result was that both Pindaris and Mahrattas submitted; a good deal of territory was annexed, including the territories of the Peshwa of Poona, whilst the boundaries of the various native states in the centre of India were delimitated. There for the present we may leave Indian

affairs. Thanks chiefly to Wellesley and Hastings, the British power had been substituted in India for that of the Great Mogul. That eastern empire which had been the dream of Napoleon's ambition had become an accomplished fact with his greatest enemies.

Nor is India the only part of our empire which was developed in the later part of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. The discoveries of Captain Cook between 1768 and 1779 had given to Great Britain the opportunity of developing a third great continent in Australia. How the opportunity was utilized will be told later. Australia.

XXXIX. The French Revolution and the Great War, 1789-1802

We revert from America and India to the affairs of Europe. Barely ten years were to elapse after the American War of Independence was over before Great Britain was plunged into a war which was to last, with one brief interval, for more than twenty years. In 1789 came the famous French Revolution. France had suffered from a government which was incompetent and arbitrary, a court which was extravagant and frivolous, and an aristocracy which clung to its privileges—above all that of not contributing to the chief taxes—whilst it neglected its duties. She endured a system of taxation which had every possible fault, and which left to the poor peasant only one-fifth of his earnings for himself. Moreover, the people had no share in the government, and the States-General—which had in the Middle Ages corresponded in some measure to the English Parliament—had not met since 1614. The French Revolution, 1789; its causes.

The close of the eighteenth century, however, found people's minds prepared for change. A brilliant writer, Voltaire, had attacked various abuses, particularly those connected with the Roman Catholic Church, and had created, it is not too much to say, the critical atmosphere of his generation. A seductive

philosopher, Rousseau, had taught people to look back to an imaginary golden age when there was no oppression and no poverty because there were no kings, no nobles, and no priests. In the same year that these two writers died, in 1778, the French monarchy had appealed to its subjects, as we have seen, to support liberty in America; it is not surprising that the French people should seek liberty for themselves when financial difficulties at last forced the king to summon the States-General in May, 1789.

France was at heart loyal, and a great king might have made reforms which would have staved off a revolution. But *Louis XVI*, the king, though well-meaning and amiable, was vacillating and undecided, whilst his queen, Marie Antoinette, though beautiful, was unpopular and indiscreet. The king had no scheme of reforms and no scheme of coercion—he merely let things drift. Consequently events moved quickly after the meeting of the *States-General* at *Versailles*. On previous occasions, the States-General had sat and voted in three estates, representing the nobles, clergy, and people respectively. But on this occasion the representatives of the people insisted on all the orders sitting and voting in one house, and by their pertinacity achieved their object. Then, on *July 14*, the men of Paris took the *Bastille*, the great fortress dominating eastern Paris—and its fall was regarded throughout Europe as the sign of the downfall of absolute monarchy in France.[1] In October, the women of Paris, impelled by fear of famine, marched to Versailles, and brought the king, the royal family, and the States-General to Paris, thinking that they would thus be sure of supplies of bread; and, as a consequence, the government and the assembly became, as time went on, increasingly subject to the influence of the Parisian populace.

Course of Revolution.

The year 1790 was taken up with the task of reorganizing France—with removing abuses in Church and State, in taxation and in the law, in the army and navy. The king's attitude was uncertain, and sometimes he sided with the reformers and at

[1] To the popular imagination the Bastille was impregnable, and its dungeons were full of untried prisoners. As a matter of fact, the Bastille was only defended by a hundred and twenty soldiers, most of them old, and by fifteen cannon, only one of which was fired; and there were only seven prisoners, of whom four were forgers, two were madmen, and the other had been put there by the request of his family.

other times he opposed them. Finally, however, in June, 1791, he escaped from Paris and fled towards the eastern frontier of France. But he was captured at Varennes and brought back, a discredited monarch, and power passed more and more into the hands of the extremists. In August, 1792, the Paris mob stormed the Tuileries palace, where Louis XVI lived, and soon afterwards, in the awful September massacres, killed hundreds of people who had been imprisoned because of their suspected hostility to the Revolution. A new assembly, called the Convention, was summoned, and met towards the close of September. This assembly declared France to be a Republic, and a few months later, after long debates, the king was condemned to death and was executed (January, 1793).[1]

British opinion and the Revolution.

The French Revolution, it is no exaggeration to say, affected profoundly the politics, both internal and external, of every state in Europe. Its ideas of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" were popular with all European peoples, whilst they aroused the apprehensions of all European monarchs. In Great Britain, at first, the Revolution was regarded with sympathy. Pitt, the son of the great Earl of Chatham and the prime minister from 1783 to 1801, watched it with no unkindly eye; he regarded it, in his own words, "as a spectator", and saw no reason why it should affect British policy. The poets, such as Wordsworth and Coleridge, saw in it the dawn of a new era of happiness and freedom; whilst Radical clergymen preached in its favour, and Radical politicians wrote frequently to its leaders and formed revolutionary

[1] Marie Antoinette was guillotined during the following October. Louis XVI's son, the Dauphin, died in January, 1795, at the age of fifteen, as a result of the horrible cruelty shown to him. For six months in the year previous to his death he was in a ground-floor room, without light, and often in winter without a fire, and in solitary confinement, his meals being passed to him through a grating; at the end of that time someone visited him, and all he could murmur was "Je veux mourir".

It may be convenient here to summarize the internal history of France after the execution of the king. After the extreme section in the Convention, the Jacobin or Mountain party, had overthrown the more moderate section, the "Reign of Terror" ensued (June, 1793–July, 1794), in the last seven weeks of which nearly fourteen hundred people were sent to the guillotine in Paris alone. The extremists then lost their power, and a more moderate government followed. At the end of 1795 the Convention Assembly was dissolved, and the government was put under the control of two Assemblies and of a committee called the Directory (1795–99). Finally, in October, 1799, Napoleon after his return from Egypt overthrew the Directory, and became supreme as First Consul, and in 1804 he was elected Emperor.

societies. The Whigs thought it bore a resemblance to their own "glorious" Revolution of 1688; and Fox, the chief Whig leader, in particular gave the Revolution his enthusiastic approval, exclaiming of the capture of the Bastille, "How much the greatest event that has happened in the world, and how much the best!"

Causes of change in opinion.

But, as the Revolution became more violent, opinion altered. Burke, the greatest of all Whigs, who from the first, unlike others of his party, had regarded it with suspicion, published in October, 1791, his "Reflections on the French Revolution", in which he expressed his detestation of it "in its act, consequences, and most of all in its example", and prophesied that its ultimate result would be anarchy; the book made a profound impression not only in Great Britain but in all European courts. Moreover, atrocities such as the September massacres horrified public feeling. Above all, the French revolutionaries were not content to leave other countries alone. They intrigued with revolutionaries in this country, and riots in Dundee, Sheffield, and elsewhere showed the dangers of their exhortations. In the autumn of 1792 other events occurred which hastened on war. The French proclaimed that they would give assistance to any nation that rose for its liberty —which was equivalent to a declaration of war against the monarchies of Europe. They occupied the Austrian Netherlands (they had begun war with Austria in the previous spring), and declared the river Scheldt open to commerce; this river, in order to develop the trade of Holland and Great Britain, had been for a long time, under European treaty, closed to all vessels by the Dutch government, and in declaring it thus open the French government showed a flagrant disregard of all treaty rights.[1] Moreover, France threatened to invade Holland. Once again, as on other occasions, Great Britain felt that her own independence was bound up with that of Holland. Then followed the execution of Louis XVI in the beginning of 1793; and war was declared in February. Pitt had striven to maintain peace as long as he could; but the extremists in France had made peace impossible.

[1] The estuary of the Scheldt was in Dutch territory; ever since 1648 the Dutch had been recognized as having control of it and had excluded all foreigners from it, thereby ruining Antwerp and developing the prosperity of their own port of Amsterdam.

1. The Great Coalition and its Failure, 1793–6

Great Britain was not alone in resisting France.[1] Austria and Prussia had begun war with France in the previous year, and to these allies were added Holland and, before long, Spain and Sardinia; and, as usual, Great Britain paid heavy subsidies to the powers composing this Great Coalition. That France, with her army at first a mob, with the discipline of her navy ruined by the Revolution, with the extremists in power and engaged in guillotining one another, and with Royalist risings in various districts, should have successfully resisted such a coalition is one of the marvels of history. The forces of Great Britain, Austria, and Prussia were concentrated in Belgium, and in twelve marches could have occupied Paris.

The Great Coalition against France, 1793.

[1] A summary of the war is appended here:—

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, 1793–1802

	Political History	Military Operations (a) *Continental.*	Military Operations (b) *Maritime. Extra-European.*
	[1792. France declares war *v.* Austria and Prussia.]		
The First Coalition.	1793. Execution of Louis XVI.	French driven from Netherlands.	Evacuation of Toulon.
	The First Coalition.	Siege of Dunkirk.	
	1794.	Allies retire from Netherlands, which French occupy.	First of June (v). Captures in West Indies.
	1795. Prussia and Spain leave Coalition. Directory in France.		Capture of Cape of Good Hope (v). Quiberon Bay expedition (D).
	1796.	Napoleon in Italy.	Bantry Bay expedition. Capture of Ceylon (v).
Critical years.	1797. Austria makes peace with France.		St. Vincent (v). Mutinies of seamen. Camperdown (v).
	1798. Irish Rebellion. Wellesley Gov.-General of India.	Napoleon in Egypt.	Nile (v).
The Second Coalition.	1799. The Second Coalition. Napoleon becomes First Consul.	British expedition to Holland.	Capture of Seringapatam (v). Defence of Acre (v).
	1800. Act of Union with Ireland. Russia leaves Coalition and forms Armed Neutrality.	Marengo (D). Hohenlinden (D).	Capture of Malta (v).
	1801. Austria makes peace with France. Alexander I becomes Czar. Addington succeeds Pitt.		Copenhagen (v). Alexandria (v).
	1802. Treaty of Amiens.		Capture of Trinidad (v).

(v) denotes victory or success } of England or her allies.
(D) denotes defeat or failure }

Coalitions of European powers, however, have seldom worked harmoniously. The allies, as a contemporary said, wanted to hunt the sheep before killing the dog; instead of a joint advance upon the capital, each was intent upon securing the frontier fortresses which it could claim at the peace. Moreover, they were jealous of each other and had no commander to direct the whole operations. Meantime, the armies of France, with their country threatened, exhibited a patriotism and an enthusiasm which carried all before them. The generals represented literally the survival of the fittest, for those that failed were nearly always dismissed and sometimes guillotined. Above all, the new Government that France had evolved left the control of the war to one man, and that a man of genius, Carnot.

Causes of its failure.

Consequently, though in the summer of 1793 there were eight foreign armies on French soil, and Lyons, Toulon, and Brittany had risen against the Revolution, before the end of the year these risings had been put down and all the foreign armies but one had been expelled. In the following year, 1794, the French drove the allies not only from Belgium but from Holland as well, and secured the Rhine frontier that they had been striving for so many centuries to obtain.[1] Holland therefore dropped out of the coalition, and in 1795 both Prussia and Spain withdrew from it. With 1796 came Napoleon's famous campaign in Italy, in which, after invading Piedmont and forcing its ruler, the King of Sardinia, to withdraw from the war, he defeated the Austrians in a succession of battles, then marched to within ninety miles of Vienna and obliged the Austrians at the beginning of 1797 to make peace.

Military operations, 1793-6.

It must be confessed that Great Britain played a somewhat inglorious part in the military operations from 1793 to 1796. No doubt her allies were largely to blame—Great Britain was heading a crusade, it has been said, with an army of camp followers. But her statesmen had done nothing in the years after the American war to profit

The British army and the Government.

[1] In 1794 the French won sixteen pitched battles, took one hundred and sixteen towns and two hundred and thirty forts, and captured ninety thousand prisoners and three thousand eight hundred cannon; and they opened the next year with capturing the Dutch fleet, which was embedded in the ice, by a cavalry raid.

by its lessons. As a consequence, at the beginning of the French war, both officers and men, whether cavalry or infantry, were untrained, whilst the artillery was worse than at any other previous period of its history. In the course of the war, the Government, at its wits' end to get recruits, adopted the pernicious system of promoting those officers who succeeded in enlisting a certain number of recruits, and sent out regiments of boys instead of men to tropical climates—which, in the case of most of them, meant certain death. In equipment, the Government was scandalously negligent. It failed to send out greatcoats to soldiers campaigning in the Netherlands during the winter, or boots for those fighting in tropical districts infested with dangerous insects. Troops were sometimes sent out who had never fired a shot, or with wholly insufficient supplies of ammunition; and the arrangements for transport and hospitals were inconceivably bad.

But chief among the causes of failure was the fact that our small army was frittered away on a variety of objects instead of being concentrated upon one. In the first year of the war (1793) there were three distinct centres of operations in Europe; and in all there was failure to record. Hood landed a force to co-operate with the French Royalists at *Toulon*; but he had to withdraw after suffering considerable losses. Another force was sent to *Quiberon Bay*, to help the Royalists in Brittany, but arrived too late to be of any service.[1] A third force under the Duke of York was sent to assist the allies in *Belgium*. The duke besieged *Dunkirk* unsuccessfully, but fought in conjunction with the Austrians some engagements in which our men showed bravery. When, however, in the next year, the French advanced in overwhelming numbers, the duke was forced to retire from Belgium to Holland, and finally the remnant of his forces entered Hanover and returned, in 1795, back to England.

British operations in Europe, 1793–5.

Meantime, outside Europe, the chief centre of military operations was in the *West Indies*. A promising start was made in

[1] Two years later, in 1795, an expedition was sent to Quiberon to aid a fresh rising. By order of the Government it occupied, as a base of operations, a barren rock in the Atlantic with no safe landing-place, and eventually withdrew with great difficulty, having achieved nothing.

1793. But the French sent out reinforcements, and not only recaptured most of what they had lost but stirred up the negro slaves in our own islands. Our own forces, inadequately reinforced and inadequately equipped, were wasted by yellow fever and the hardships of the campaign. An army, however, sent out in 1796 under Abercromby—the ablest general of the time—succeeded in restoring order in our own islands and in recapturing some of the French; and, finally, in 1798 the British made a treaty of peace with the famous negro, Toussaint l'Ouverture, who had made himself master of the greater part of San Domingo. The net result of our operations in the West Indies was the capture of Martinique and St. Lucia, and the treaty just alluded to which saved the harbours of San Domingo from being the haven for French privateers. But these gains had been accomplished at the expense, it has been estimated, of a hundred thousand men, of whom half had died during the campaigns and the other half were discharged as permanently disabled. In the East, however, we were more successful; we captured the French settlements in India (1793) and the settlements of Holland in the Far East (1795), besides the Cape of Good Hope.

In West Indies, 1793–8.

Our maritime supremacy enabled us to destroy our enemies' commerce and to occupy some of their islands. But even on the sea during the opening years of the war our operations were somewhat disappointing. Lord Howe won a battle in the Atlantic, known as *the glorious First of June*, in 1794; but the great convoy of corn, which it was all-important for the French fleet to protect, got through to France unseen during the manœuvres before and after the battle. Moreover, the British did not at first efficiently undertake the blockade of the French ports, and more especially of Brest. Consequently in 1796 the French, taking the offensive, were able to dispatch a fleet from Brest to *Bantry Bay* in Ireland with fifteen thousand men on board. The ship, however, containing the French admiral and general lost touch with the fleet,[1] and the winds

British operations on the sea, 1793–6.

[1] The French fleet left Brest just as night was coming on, and Pellew, the commander of a British frigate which was watching the port, attached himself to the French fleet, just out of gunshot, and by making false signals, burning blue lights, and sending up rockets, played havoc with the commander-in-chief's orders, and got the fleet into hopeless confusion.

were persistently contrary for the remainder of the fleet when it tried to sail up the bay; so that the French had finally to retire without landing in Ireland at all. If they had landed, they might have roused that island to a successful rebellion. In another sphere of operations, in the Mediterranean, the British missed their opportunities. The fleet might have commanded the coast road to Genoa and increased the difficulties of the French campaigns in Italy; as it was, Napoleon's wonderful success in Italy in 1796 led us to evacuate that sea in the following year.

2. Isolation of Great Britain and her Victories on Sea, 1797–8

The chance of crushing France had been lost in 1793, and four years later—in 1797—Great Britain found herself in a desperate position. France held the whole of the Netherlands and controlled the Dutch fleet; by an alliance with Spain she practically controlled the Spanish fleet as well. Great Britain herself had no ally upon the Continent. Scotland was dissatisfied and Ireland on the verge of rebellion. Consols had sunk to 50, and there was a run on the Bank of England. Worst of all, the seamen mutinied. At Spithead they protested against many real grievances—the lowness of the pay, the embezzlement of part of it by the paymasters, the insufficiency of the food, the severity of the discipline, and the shortness of leave; and when they were promised redress by "Black Dick", as the sailors lovingly called Lord Howe, the mutiny ended. At the Nore, Parker, the leader of the mutineers, was infected with revolutionary ideas. He wanted the seamen to elect their own officers, and hoisted the red flag of anarchy. But the Government showed energy, the mutiny was suppressed and its leader hanged.

Critical position of Great Britain, 1797.

Nevertheless it was the navy which in this, as in other critical years, was to save Great Britain. In February, before the mutinies, Jervis, afterwards created Lord St. Vincent, beat the Spanish fleet off *Cape St. Vincent*. In the battle Nelson distinguished himself. The Spanish fleet was sighted in two divisions, and Jervis was manœuvring to keep the sections apart. Nelson, divining his chief's

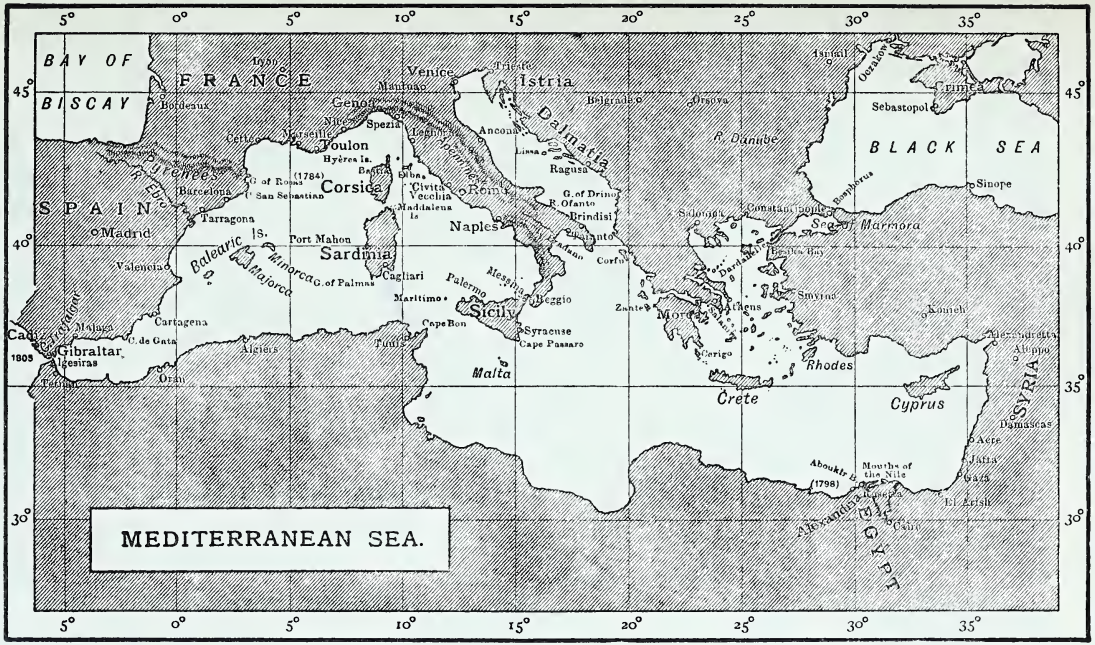
Battles of St. Vincent and Camperdown, 1797.

intentions, at the critical moment took the responsibility, without orders, of swinging his vessel out of the line, and was just in time to attack the leading Spanish ships of one division as they were on the point of getting into touch with the other. In October, after the mutinies were over, Duncan defeated the Dutch fleet off *Camperdown* in the Texel.[1] Getting in between the Dutch and the shore, he fought them pell-mell without any order or system, and won a notable victory.

Napoleon's Egyptian campaign, 1798.

Our dangers, however, were not yet over. At the beginning of 1798, Napoleon was sent to Brest to decide upon the feasibility of an invasion of Ireland. If his decision had been in its favour, and he had arrived in Ireland in the summer of 1798, just at the time that the rebellion broke out, the result might have been disastrous. But fortunately Napoleon decided against an invasion. Indeed his mind was captivated by ideas of Eastern conquest, and he projected an invasion of Egypt, with the ultimate object perhaps of marching upon India. The French Government agreed, and preparations for the expedition were secretly made. Napoleon left Toulon in the spring of 1798 and took Malta. But he was extremely lucky even to arrive in Egypt. Nelson had just been sent to reoccupy the Mediterranean, and, but for the absence owing to a storm of his frigates—on which he relied for information—he must have caught Napoleon. He had to wait for reinforcements, and then guessing that Napoleon's objective was Egypt, he sailed from Sardinia for Alexandria. Shortly afterwards Napoleon left Malta for the same destination, though his fleet steered first for Crete. The tracks of the French and British fleets during one night must have crossed, and for three days the fleets were steering roughly parallel courses some sixty miles apart. Nelson sailed the faster and reached Alexandria first. Finding no signs of the French, he thought that he had guessed wrongly and doubled back to Sicily. Napoleon's fleet meantime, after coasting by Crete, sailed to Alexandria, and his troops landed, won the *battle of the Pyramids* against

[1] During the mutiny the British had kept up their blockade of the Dutch fleet with only two ships, as all the others mutinied. Duncan, the admiral, kept making signals to the mutinous ships as if they were still under his command, and the Dutch fleet consequently did not stir.



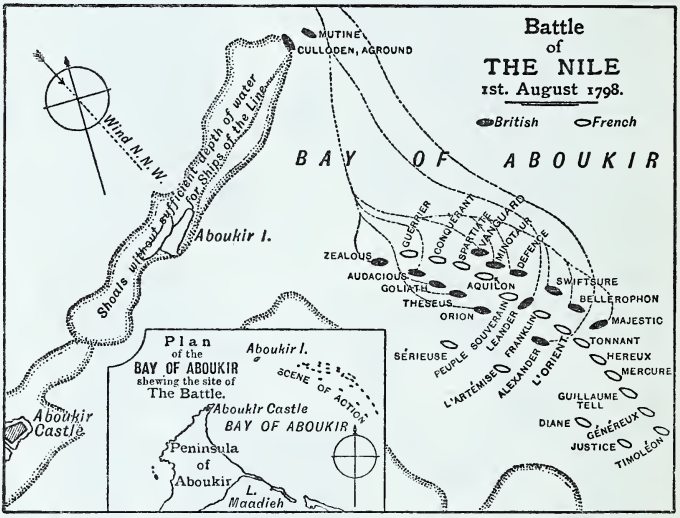
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the Mamelukes, who then governed the country, and took Cairo.

Nelson heard of Napoleon's arrival in Egypt, sailed back to Alexandria, and upon August 1 sighted Napoleon's fleet at anchor in *Aboukir Bay* close to the mouths of the Nile. The French fleet had made the two great omissions of not anchoring their fleet as close to the shore as possible and of not joining their vessels by chains.

The battle of the Nile, Aug. 1, 1798.



Nelson could trust his captains, as he said, "to find a hole somewhere", and they quickly realized that they were able to pass on both sides of the French ships as well as between them, and to concentrate their forces first on the van and then on the centre and rear of the French fleet. Beginning at six o'clock in the evening, the battle lasted far into the night and was continued the next morning. The French flagship, *L'Orient*, blew up at 10 p.m., and before the battle was over eleven out of the thirteen French ships had been captured or sunk. It was a brilliant victory, in which all the captains, fighting, as Nelson said, "like a band of brothers", had distinguished themselves.

3. The Second Coalition and its Failure, 1799–1800

The battle of the Nile had great consequences. Not only did it prevent Tippoo Sahib in India from obtaining any further help from the French (p. 517), and give the British control of the Mediterranean, but it encouraged the formation of another coalition of European powers against France (1799). The insolence and aggressiveness of the foreign policy pursued by the French Government had roused the Czar; and Austria and Turkey also joined in the coalition. Affairs at first looked very promising. The French were almost driven out of Italy, while the British had in 1798 taken Minorca and blockaded Malta. The British, freed from their entanglements in the West Indies by the treaty of 1798 with Toussaint l'Ouverture, again sent an army to Holland under the command of the Duke of York. Thanks to Lord St. Vincent an efficient system of blockading the great French port of Brest was adopted.[1] France herself, under an incapable and intolerant Government, was threatened with bankruptcy, anarchy, and civil war. Meanwhile Napoleon's own plans were thwarted by the maritime supremacy of the British. He invaded Syria, but British ships under Sydney Smith captured his siege train—it was going by sea—and the guns which Napoleon had intended for the attack upon *Acre* were therefore used in its defence. Aided by British seamen, Acre held out. With this town untaken, Napoleon was unable to advance, and had to retreat to Egypt with his great schemes of conquest unaccomplished.

The Second Coalition against France in 1799, and its early successes.

But then the tide turned, and the year that opened so well for the allies was to end gloomily. The British troops had been sent to Holland in expectation of assistance from the Dutch and the Russians. The Russian contingent, however, proved inefficient and the Dutch soldiers never came at all.

Its later failure.

[1] St. Vincent's maxim was to be "close in with Ushant (the island outside Brest) in an easterly wind", which was the favourable wind for the escape of the French fleet; and only once during St. Vincent's command (which lasted 121 days) did the main fleet off Ushant fail, owing to fog, to communicate with the in-shore squadron stationed between Brest and Ushant. St. Vincent made himself very unpopular by ordering that when vessels went home to refit or take in stores, their officers were not to sleep on shore or go farther inland than three miles.

Our own army, badly equipped and worse provisioned, fighting at one time in a district cut up by dykes and canals and at another in one of sand dunes, could do little; but it fought sufficiently well to be able to make a capitulation by which it was allowed to return to England. The French won a great victory in Switzerland over the Austro-Russian army, and then Austria and Russia quarrelled and the latter withdrew from the coalition. Above all, Napoleon came back to France. Sydney Smith caused English newspapers to be sent to Napoleon giving an account of affairs in Europe. Sent no doubt with the amiable design of making Napoleon thoroughly uncomfortable, they had the effect of making him decide upon an immediate return; and after an exciting voyage, in which he managed to elude all British ships, Napoleon landed safely in France in October. He was welcomed enthusiastically. The old Government was overthrown, and by Christmas Day, 1799, Napoleon, with the new title of First Consul, controlled the destinies of France.

Napoleon, after restoring some sort of order in France, turned his attention first to the Austrians, who were fighting in Italy. He crossed the Alps, got in the rear of the Austrian army, beat it at the celebrated victory of *Marengo* in June, 1800, and won North Italy; another French victory, secured at *Hohenlinden* in December by another general, forced the Austrians to make peace at the beginning of 1801. Against the British, Napoleon made use of the grievances of neutral powers. No country denied that a neutral ship carrying contraband of war or attempting to enter a blockaded port was liable to seizure. But the British, in the definition of what constituted contraband of war, included foodstuffs and naval stores, such as hemp, which was one of the chief exports of Russia; and they claimed the right to seize vessels bound for a port declared to be blockaded, though the blockade might be a "paper one" with no adequate force to support it. Moreover, they seized goods belonging to the enemy, even when carried on neutral ships under convoy of their own country's warships. Neutrals contested these claims, and at the end of 1800 the Armed Neutrality of Russia, Denmark, and Sweden was formed to support their views.

The battle of Marengo; the Armed Neutrality, 1800.

4. Renewed Isolation of Great Britain, 1801 and the Treaty of Amiens, 1802

The year 1801, like the year 1797, was therefore a critical year for Great Britain. She was again without an ally on the Continent. The Armed Neutrality threatened her with war. The prime minister, Pitt, retired in February, and was succeeded by an incompetent minister called Addington. But the events of a fortnight at the end of March and the beginning of April completely altered the situation. Abercromby, who had been sent to operate, with greatly inferior forces, against the French army still in Egypt, succeeded in effecting a landing and winning a brilliant victory at *Alexandria*, which led to the capitulation of the French forces five months later. Two days after this battle the Czar Paul was assassinated. With his death, the "trunk"—as Nelson called Russia—of the Armed Neutrality was broken, and the new czar, Alexander I, was favourable to the British and made a treaty with them. Meantime disasters had occurred to the "branches" of the Armed Neutrality. The British captured the Danish and Swedish islands in the West Indies. Above all, on the 1st of April, came the battle of *Copenhagen*. Nelson, with part of the British fleet, forced his way up the intricate straits in front of the capital, attacked and silenced the Danish batteries, took and sank the Danish fleet, and before he retired had forced the Danish Government to renounce the Armed Neutrality,[1] and so opened the Baltic to the British fleet.

Critical condition of Great Britain in 1801.

Great Britain, after this fortnight of success, was ready, burdened as she was by a gigantic debt and governed by a pacific minister, for peace; and so was Napoleon. Before the end of the year the preliminaries were signed, and developed into the Treaty of Amiens in 1802. "It was a peace", said a contemporary, "of which everyone was

The Treaty of Amiens, 1802.

[1] Parker, the British commander-in-chief, allowed Nelson to make this attack with part of the fleet whilst he remained outside with the remainder of the ships. When, after three hours' fighting, the Danes seemed to be holding their own, Parker hoisted the signal to "discontinue the action". But Nelson exclaimed to an officer, "You know, I have only one eye—I have a right to be blind sometimes", and then putting the telescope to his blind eye exclaimed, "I really do not see the signal!"

glad and nobody proud." Great Britain gave up all her conquests save Ceylon and Trinidad, whilst France retained the country which is now called Belgium, and the Rhine frontier.

Reflections on the conduct of the war.

For nearly the whole of its course, the war had been conducted by Pitt, and his lieutenant Dundas. In Macaulay's opinion, Pitt's war policy was that of a driveller; and it has been said of Dundas that he was so profoundly ignorant of war as to be unconscious even of his ignorance. The judgments are somewhat harsh. But it is impossible to read the details of the war without realizing that our statesmen not infrequently failed to take sufficient advantage of the opportunities offered them, had no clear or consistent idea of their objectives, and made the task of the generals always difficult and sometimes impossible by providing them with inadequate or ill-equipped forces. Hence much of the war is disappointing; but in the West Indies, in the Netherlands, and above all in Egypt our soldiers fought bravely, and some of our generals—and more especially Abercromby—exhibited considerable capacity, whilst the navy won for itself immortal glory.

XL. The Napoleonic War, 1803-15

Causes of the renewal of war in 1803.

The Peace of Amiens was merely a truce, for the reorganization of France failed to satisfy Napoleon's ambitions, and his aggressive policy made the renewal of war inevitable. The First Consul annexed Piedmont and Elba. As a mediator he intervened in Germany and reconstructed the boundaries of its states so as to suit French interests; he sent thirty thousand soldiers to Switzerland and gave that country a new constitution. Above all, he virtually annexed Holland, and thus once again British supremacy was threatened in the North Sea. But Napoleon's ambitions were not limited to Europe. The official report of a French colonel who had been sent to Egypt aroused great indignation in Great Britain; for the colonel expressed the opinion that six thousand French troops would be sufficient to recapture that country; and

the fact that this report was published in the official French newspaper showed that Napoleon had not renounced French ambitions in that quarter. We now know also—though Great Britain did not realize it at the time—that Napoleon had designs upon the Cape of Good Hope, upon India, and upon Australia. Napoleon on his side made bitter complaints because Great Britain, contrary to the terms of peace, still retained Malta in her hands, and because the British newspapers made attacks upon him. War eventually broke out in 1803. It was fortunate, perhaps, that it came as quickly as it did. Napoleon was building a very large fleet, which might have successfully challenged our maritime supremacy if time had been given for its completion.

1. Napoleon and the Invasion of England, 1803–5

The war which now ensued is generally called the *Napoleonic War*.[1] For the first seventeen months after it broke out, from

[1] The following summary of the war will be found useful:—

Political History	Military Operations	
	(*a*) *Continental.*	(*b*) *Maritime and extra-European.*
803. England declares war on France.		Assaye (v).
1804. Pitt becomes Prime Minister; Napoleon crowned Emperor; Spain declares war on England.		
1805. Third Coalition.	Austerlitz (D); Austria defeated.	Trafalgar (v); Cape Colony captured (v).
1806. Death of Pitt; end of Holy Roman Empire.	Jena (D); Prussia defeated.	Berlin decrees.
1807. Treaty of Tilsit; Napoleon occupies Portugal.	Friedland (D); Russia defeated.	Orders in Council.
1808. Joseph made King of Spain; beginning of Peninsular War.		(*c*) *Peninsular War.* Vimiero (v).
1809. Austria declares war on Napoleon, and at end of year makes peace.	Wagram (D); Walcheren expedition (D).	Corunna (v); Talavera (v).
1810.		Busaco (v); lines of Torres Vedras.
1811.		Albuera (v); Fuentes d'Onoro (v).
1812. Russia declares war on France, and United States on England.	Napoleon's invasion of Russia.	Badajoz (v); Salamanca (v).
1813. Fourth Coalition. Prussia and Austria declare war on France.	Leipsic (v).	Vittoria (v).
1814. Abdication of Napoleon; Congress of Vienna.		Orthez (v); Toulouse (v).
1815. The Hundred Days. Peace of Paris.	Ligny (D); Quatre Bras; Waterloo (v).	

(v) denotes victory or success } of England or her allies.
(D) denotes defeat or failure }

May, 1803, until October, 1805, the main interest centres in Napoleon's plans for the invasion of England. To carry out his great scheme, Napoleon stationed at and near Boulogne nearly a hundred thousand

The attempted invasion of England, 1803–5.



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soldiers[1]—the soldiers who were afterwards to win such a wonderful series of victories on the Continent; and for the transport of

[1] Napoleon hoped to have 150,000 men; as a matter of fact, during the critical months of 1805 he had only 93,000 men.

this army he built over two thousand flat-bottomed boats, propelled by oars and easily beached. But swarms of British frigates, sloops, and gun-vessels were patrolling the Channel, and Napoleon soon realized that a fleet was essential to convoy his flotilla of boats across the thirty miles of sea that separated France from England. The French ships-of-war, however, lay inside the great harbours of Brest and Toulon and the smaller ones of Rochefort and Ferrol[1]; and outside those harbours, ceaselessly and untiringly watching the French vessels, were the British fleets. The blockade of Brest by Cornwallis—the brother of the soldier—excited the wonder of the world, whilst almost equal vigilance was shown by the British commanders off Ferrol and Rochefort. Nelson could not exercise over Toulon so rigid a blockade, but he had it carefully watched by his frigates, and his fleet during these critical months never went into port except to an open roadstead.[2] Napoleon's great army at Boulogne never saw those "far-distant, storm-beaten British ships" outside the French harbours, but nevertheless they "stood between it and the dominion of the world".

How were the French fleets to elude the blockading British ships and obtain command of the Channel for sufficient time to enable the flotilla to cross to England?[3] Napoleon's brain spun plan after plan, but they were all foiled by the ability of Lord Barham, the first lord of the admiralty at Whitehall, and by the vigilant co-operation of the admirals afloat. Limits of space forbid reference except to the last plan of all, a plan devised early in 1805, when Spain had been drawn into an alliance with Napoleon and consequently when her fleet was available for offensive operations against Great Britain. Under this plan, there was to be a general rendezvous of all the French and Spanish fleets in the West Indies, and the combined armada was then to return to Europe and sweep aside all opposition. The

Villeneuve and Nelson.

[1] Ferrol belonged to Spain, but it was virtually annexed at this time by Napoleon.

[2] Cornwallis blockaded Brest from May, 1803, until after the battle of Trafalgar, 1805—a blockade unequalled in length; and during the whole of that time no French fleet got out. Nelson for two whole years, wanting ten days, never left the *Victory*.

[3] Napoleon at one time thought the command of the Channel for twelve hours would be sufficient, at another time three days. The French admiral at Brest thought "at least a fortnight was necessary", as the Channel was too stormy to be always practicable for the transport-boats.

Brest fleet, however, was unable to escape. But the Toulon fleet under Villeneuve got away in March, picked up the Spanish fleet at Cadiz, and reached Martinique (May 14). Nelson, who at first thought the Toulon fleet was destined for the East, and who was bound by his orders specially to guard against an attack on Egypt, Naples, or Sicily, watched the sea between Sardinia and the coast of Tunis; and then, hearing of Villeneuve's cruise westward, he went to Gibraltar, reaching it just eight days before Villeneuve reached the West Indies. Various pieces of information led him to conclude that Villeneuve's destination was the West Indies,[1] and he accordingly followed him there without delay.

But when Nelson had reached Barbados (June 4), and was within a hundred miles of his quarry, inaccurate information given him by a British general caused him to go south to Trinidad instead of north to Martinique where Villeneuve was.[2] The latter, when he heard of Nelson's arrival, wisely decided on an immediate return home. Nelson followed some days later, and sent forward a fast brig to announce the news. The brig passed Villeneuve's fleet on the way home, and brought intelligence to the admiralty in time for a fleet to be concentrated under Calder to meet Villeneuve on his return journey off *Cape Finisterre*.[3] Calder, with an inferior force, fought an action in a fog, and captured two of Villeneuve's ships (July 22). The action, however, was not decisive, and Calder failed to renew it the next day; consequently Villeneuve was enabled to withdraw to Corunna, a port near Ferrol. Meantime Nelson had returned to the south of Spain, and, hearing nothing of Villeneuve, went to join Cornwallis off Brest.[4]

[1] This was not a brilliant guess on Nelson's part, but the intelligent use of what information he could gather from other ships.

[2] "But for wrong information," said Nelson, "I should have fought the battle on June 6th, where Rodney fought his."

[3] The captain of the brig reached the admiralty one night at eleven o'clock. But Lord Barham, being an old man nearly eighty years of age, had gone to bed, and no one dared to arouse him. Lord Barham was furious next morning when he heard of the delay; but in half an hour he had made up his mind what to do, and without waiting to dress drafted the necessary orders. By nine o'clock in the morning the admiralty messenger was carrying these orders to Portsmouth.

[4] Even if Villeneuve had not met Calder, it is unlikely that he would have eluded Cornwallis, who was guarding the approaches to the Channel as well as blockading Brest, or that he would have effected a junction with the Brest fleet. As has been pointed out, Napoleon in his schemes ignored two factors—first, that a wind favourable for the relieving force to

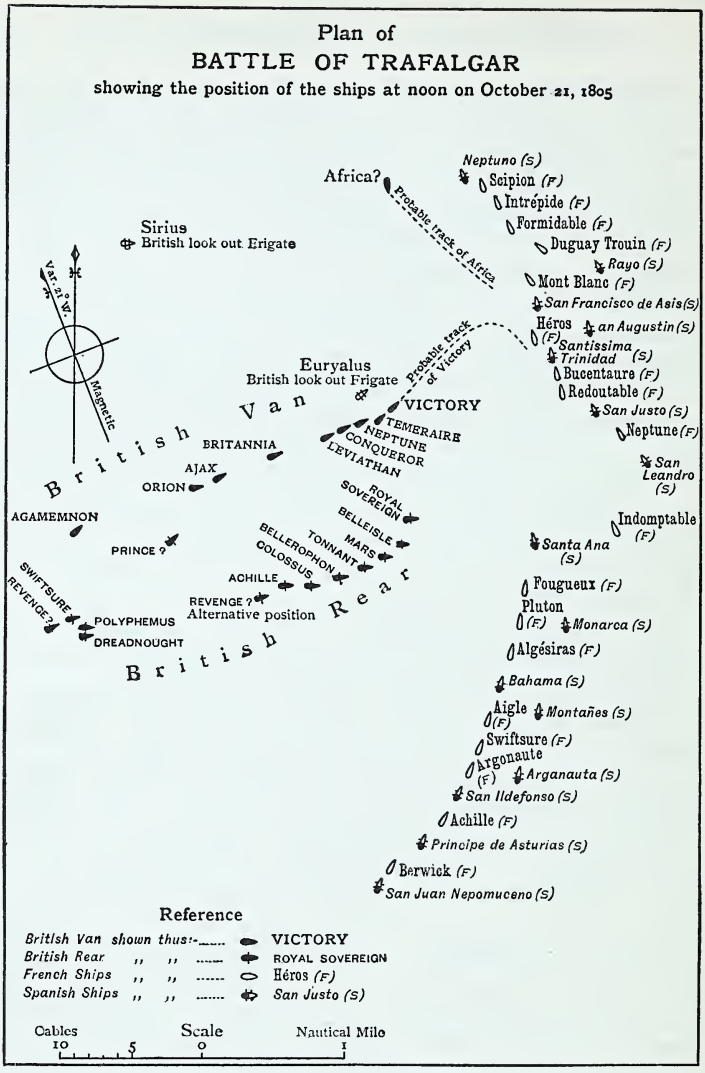
With Villeneuve at Corunna the danger to England was not yet over. In August, however, Villeneuve left that port, and, instead of going north to attempt co-operation with the Brest fleet, he went south and entered Cadiz. There he was shortly afterwards blockaded by the British fleet, and Napoleon had to give up all ideas of invasion. Moreover, Pitt, who had displaced Addington as prime minister, had succeeded in forming another coalition against France—the third that he formed—consisting of Russia, Austria, Great Britain, and Sweden. Accordingly Napoleon marched his army away from Boulogne to attack Austria. Meantime Villeneuve was watched by Nelson, who had, after a short rest in England, returned to his command. Villeneuve, however, could not lie idle whilst the British assumed the offensive, as they began to do, in the Mediterranean; urged on by Napoleon, and on the point of being superseded, he ventured to leave Cadiz, intending to check the British operations against Naples. But Nelson attacked him and the battle off *Cape Trafalgar* resulted (Oct. 21).

Battle of Trafalgar, Oct. 21, 1805.

The allied fleet of thirty-three ships of the line, after it left Cadiz, was discovered by Nelson in a slightly curved line some five miles long. Nelson had previously determined to make an attack upon the centre and rear of the allied fleet, with his own twenty-seven ships arranged in two columns. Of one of these columns Collingwood was in command with orders to attack the rear ships, whilst Nelson himself led the other with the object of fighting the centre and keeping off the van ships of the enemy. The action began about noon. Collingwood in the *Royal Sovereign* outdistanced the ships in his own column,[1] and for a quarter of an hour fought the enemy single-handed. Somewhat later Nelson's column got into action. Nelson's ship, the *Victory*, led, and her first broadside dismounted twenty guns and killed or wounded some four hundred men of the enemy. The fighting was carried on

attack was usually foul for the blockaded force to come out; secondly, that if the blockading force did go away to meet the attack, the blockaded force would not be able to tell under a day or two whether it had gone or not.

[1] "See how that noble fellow Collingwood carries his ship into action!" was Nelson's comment, and almost at the same time Collingwood exclaimed, "What would Nelson give to be here!" It was just before Collingwood began his attack that Nelson issued his famous signal, "England expects every man to do his duty".



For a long time it was a matter of controversy as to how the attack at Trafalgar was actually made. The investigations, however, of an Admiralty Committee have placed the matter beyond doubt, and the present plan is based upon that issued in their Report of 1913. Collingwood had been directed by Nelson—in a memorandum issued a few days before the battle—to attack the rear ships of the enemy simultaneously with all his ships disposed in a line parallel to that of the enemy; and he carried out this order as far as was possible—having regard to the wind and the condition of his ships.

with fierce determination by both sides; but the British gunnery proved its superiority, and eventually, out of thirty-three ships of the enemy, the British captured nineteen. In the course of the battle, however, Nelson was wounded in the spine with a musket ball and died in the hour of victory.[1] "It does not become me to make comparisons," Lord St. Vincent had written previously, "there is but one Nelson." And later generations have endorsed this verdict.

2. Growth of Napoleon's Power, 1805–9, and the Continental System

Great Britain had vanquished Napoleon on the sea, and for the remainder of the war her maritime supremacy was not seriously contested; but she seemed powerless to stop Napoleon's progress on land. On December 2, 1805 —six weeks after Trafalgar—Napoleon's campaign in Germany culminated in the defeat of the Austrians and Russians at *Austerlitz*, a defeat which broke up the Third Coalition and forced Austria to make peace.[2] The beginning of 1806 saw the death of Pitt, the brain of the Third Coalition, and the end of it the downfall of Prussia, which after a ten years' neutrality had at last been induced to take up arms against France, only to be overwhelmed at the battle of *Jena*. In the summer of 1807, as a result of Napoleon's victory at *Friedland* and of Russia's dissatisfaction owing to the tardiness of Great Britain—so the Russians alleged—in providing her with subsidies, the Czar made at *Tilsit* an alliance with Napoleon, and not only agreed to the dismemberment of Prussia and to the reorganization of Germany, but promised in secret articles to make common cause with Napoleon against Great Britain. In the autumn of 1807 Portugal, the old ally of Great Britain, was attacked; Lisbon was occupied by French troops, and the Portuguese royal family

Growth of Napoleon's power, 1805-8.

[1] Just before his death Nelson was told that fourteen or fifteen of the enemy's ships had surrendered. "That is well," he answered, "but I bargained for twenty."

[2] Pitt was at Bath when he heard the news of Austerlitz. Shortly afterwards he went to Putney, and seeing, on entering his house, a map of Europe, he exclaimed, "Roll up that map, it will not be wanted these ten years." The battle hastened Pitt's decline, and he died six weeks after receiving news of it.

fled to Brazil. Finally, in the spring of 1808, Napoleon, making unscrupulous use of the hostility between Charles, the king of Spain, who has been described as a good-natured imbecile, and his cowardly son Ferdinand, persuaded both father and son to go to Bayonne, and there—not without threats—got the one to resign the crown of Spain and the other to renounce his claim to it, and sent his own brother, Joseph, to Madrid to become king.

Napoleon's position, 1808.

Napoleon then seemed supreme. The French empire included France, Belgium, the land up to the Rhine, and Piedmont and Tuscany. As King of Italy, Napoleon had the direct rule, in addition, of Lombardy and Venetia. As Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, he controlled the policies and the armies of nearly all the German powers except Austria and Prussia. Of his brothers, Louis was King of Holland, Jerome King of Westphalia, and Joseph King of Spain, whilst his brother-in-law, Murat, was King of Naples. Russia was his ally, whilst Prussia—reduced to half its former size—and Austria were quiescent.

Napoleon and Great Britain; the "Continental System".

Great Britain alone remained to withstand Napoleon's power. But, if she could not be defeated, she might be starved. Napoleon, "if he found it impossible to strike this enemy at the heart, could cut off the supplies to the stomach"; if he could not invade Great Britain, he might ruin the trade on which her prosperity depended. If Great Britain's merchandise might be carried on the ocean, it might yet, in Napoleon's words, "be repelled by all Europe from the Sound to the Hellespont". Accordingly, at the end of 1806, he issued from *Berlin* his famous decrees declaring the British Isles to be in a state of blockade—though there was not one French ship-of-war within miles of any one of their ports. As a result of these decrees, no ship coming from Great Britain and Ireland or her colonies might be received in the ports of France or of allied powers, and any goods of British origin on land or sea might be seized. To the "Continental System", as the system under this decree was called, Austria and Prussia and Russia, and all the lands under Napoleon's influence, had to submit.

EUROPE
in the time of Napoleon
Napoleon's march to Moscow
Christiania
NORWAY
SWEDEN
Stockholm
Gothenburg
Copenhagen
Edinburgh
SCOTLAND
Dublin
IRELAND
Liverpool
ENGLAND
Helgoland
London
Cambridge
Bremen
Berlin
Brussels
Boulogne
Amiens
Paris
Strasburg
Munich
Vienna
Geneva
Rochefort
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Toulon
Corsica
Elba
Rome
NAPLES
SICILY
Barcelona
Saragossa
Madrid
Lisbon
Gibraltar
Cadiz
Trafalgar
Granada
Murcia
Valencia
Oporto
Vittoria
Salamanca
Coruna
Bay of Biscay
FRENCH EMPIRE
PRUSSIA
AUSTRIA
RHINE CONFEDERATION
GRAND DUCHY OF WARSAW
SWITZERLAND
ITALY
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
TURKEY
TURKEY IN ASIA
Black Sea
RUSSIA
St. Petersburg
Moscow
Riga
Smolensk
Vilna
Konigsberg
Pinsk
Kiew
Gomel
Kharkov
Azov
Kherson
Odessa
R. Dniester
R. Dnieper
R. Danube
Bucharest
Belgrade
Sophia
Constantinople
Kronstadt
Salonika
Corfu
Athens
Patras
Marathon
Candia
Cyprus
Acre
Brussels
Mt. Waterloo
Waure
St. Jean
Plancenoit
La Belle Alliance
Quatre Bras
Ligny
Namur
Charleroi
R. Sambre
Wagram
Austerlitz
Friedland
Smolensk
Borodino
Moscow
R. Volga
AFRICA

But to be successful, the Continental System must be complete; one leak would allow British goods to enter anywhere on the Continent. And it was this necessity that largely accounted for Napoleon's policy with regard to Portugal and Spain. There were, however, other places which were suitable for evading Napoleon's decrees with regard to British goods. Heligoland was annexed by Great Britain, and made a convenient base of operations for smuggling goods into Germany.[1] The Dutch Government, under Napoleon's brother Louis, showed little vigilance in carrying out the Continental System, and ignored an extensive trade clandestinely carried on at her ports till, finally, Napoleon in 1810 had to annex Holland. Nor did Great Britain fail to reply to Napoleon's decrees. Her Government retaliated with various "*Orders in Council*", declaring all the ports from which the British flag was excluded to be in a state of blockade, and forbidding ships to sail to them except under a licence granted by Great Britain or when coming from a British port. Yet Great Britain suffered greatly from Napoleon's measures, especially towards the close of the war.

How the system worked.

Undeterred by Napoleon's brilliant successes, Great Britain undertook various military operations against Napoleon and his allies. At various times between 1803 and 1811 she captured from the French the Mauritius and their islands in the West Indies, and from the Dutch their possessions in the East Indies. She anticipated Napoleon's intended seizure of the Danish fleet by bombarding *Copenhagen* (1807) and forcing the Danes to give up their fleet—an act for which Great Britain was bitterly attacked at the time, but which is now generally admitted to have been justifiable. Elsewhere Great Britain was not so successful. Expeditions sent in 1807 to South America to capture Buenos Ayres and to Constantinople to coerce the sultan were failures, as was another dispatched in 1809 to *Walcheren* with the object of destroying the ships and dockyards at Antwerp.[2]

Military operations of Great Britain.

[1] During the winter 1806–7, the French army, in spite of the Berlin decrees, was clad and shod with British goods imported by the French consul at Hamburg.

[2] The commanders of the fleet and the army—Sir Richard Strachan and the Earl of

Above all, however, Napoleon's aggression in Portugal and Spain gave the British Government a worthy opportunity, in the summer of 1808, of championing those countries. To Spain, where all the provinces had risen against the king whom Napoleon had set over them, Great Britain sent money and arms; and the Spaniards achieved a great success by forcing eighteen thousand Frenchmen to surrender at *Baylen*. To Portugal Great Britain sent an army under Sir A. Wellesley, which defeated the French at *Vimiero*, and forced them, by the Convention of Cintra, to evacuate Portugal; though that convention aroused considerable indignation in Great Britain, because it allowed the French army to be conveyed back to their homes in France instead of to prisons in England.

Interference of Great Britain in Spain and Portugal, 1808.

Napoleon himself then took up the task of subduing the Peninsula. With a huge army he invaded Spain and occupied Madrid. He was meditating an advance upon the south of Spain and upon Lisbon when Sir John Moore—the new British commander—threatened Napoleon's communications in the north, but "with bridle in hand", as he said, and ready to retreat at a moment's notice, and "to make a run for it". Napoleon decided to attack Moore. There followed, on both sides, the most wonderful marching across mountainous country covered with snow and divided by deep defiles, Moore for part of the time keeping an average of seventeen miles a day. Eventually Napoleon left the pursuit to Marshal Soult. Moore got to *Corunna*, and fought there a battle, as a result of which, though he himself was killed, his army was enabled to embark in safety (January, 1809). Moore's daring thrust had lost many a brave life, but nevertheless he had drawn the French away from the south and centre and had spoilt their plans.

Napoleon's campaign in Spain, and Sir John Moore.

Chatham (Pitt's elder brother)—quarrelled, and, after the failure of the expedition, each accused the other of dilatoriness; hence the famous epigram—

"Great Chatham, with his sabre drawn,
Stood waiting for Sir Richard Strachan;
Sir Richard, longing to be at 'em,
Stood waiting for the Earl of Chatham!"

3. The Peninsular War and the Fall of Napoleon, 1809–14

The Peninsular War, 1809–14.

After the embarkation of the British troops, Napoleon thought that the Spanish rising was "nearly at an end". But he was to be quickly undeceived, for in April, 1809, Wellesley arrived in the Peninsula for the second time. With Wellesley's operations the campaigns known in our history as the *Peninsular War* really begin. The difficulties which Wellesley had to overcome were very great. Opinion at home was much divided as to the expediency of the war and the abilities of Wellesley himself; consequently he had to be cautious—"if I lost five hundred men without the clearest necessity", he said, "I should be brought to my knees". The British officers with him were for the most part at first inexperienced; the men were sometimes six months in arrears of pay, and for four campaigns had to do without tents. Of the British allies, the Portuguese, till trained by the British, were untrustworthy. The Spaniards waged a guerrilla warfare, it is true, so successfully against the French that the latter, though they had as many as three hundred thousand men in the field, were never able to concentrate more than seventy thousand against Wellesley. But the Spaniards were useless in formal battles; even the best of them, in Wellesley's opinion, would only fire a volley whilst the enemy was out of reach and then run away.

It has been said of the Peninsula that it is a country where "large armies starve and small armies get beaten". The country was mountainous, and the roads instead of following ran across the river valleys. Consequently it was difficult to get food or transport for a large army for any length of time; and the art of war consisted in the ability to concentrate rapidly a large army for a swift and decisive blow. The French generals, however, found greater difficulties from the nature of the country than did Wellington. They had to operate in the main down the ribs of a fan, down the river valleys, and they found it difficult to move from one valley to another. Their lines of communication, owing

Map of
SPAIN & PORTUGAL
to illustrate
Wellington's Campaigns
English Miles
0 25 50 100 150
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Mediterranean Sea
Balearic Islands
Majorca
Minorca
Ivica
C. Ortegal
Bay of Biscay
Ferrol
Coruna (1809)
C. Finisterre
R. Minho
Oporto (1809)
R. Douro
Busaco (1810)
Coimbra
Roliça (1808)
Vimiero (1808)
LINES OF TORRES VEDRAS
R. Tagus
Lisbon
C. St. Vincent
Cadiz (1811)
C. Trafalgar
Gibraltar
Str. of Gibraltar
C. Spartel
Tangier
Baffosa
Albuera (1811)
Badajoz
Salamanca (1812)
Ciudad Rodrigo
Fuentes d'Onoro (1811)
Almeida
Burgos
Santander
San Sebastian
Bayonne
Orthez (1814)
Toulouse (1814)
Vittoria (1813)
Pampeluna
R. Ebro
Saragossa
Barcelona
Madrid
Talavera (1809)
Valencia
Almanza (1707)
Cartagena
C. Palos
Bayten
Seville
Granada
R. Guadiana
R. Guadalquivir
R. Douro

to the hostile population, were always precarious, and the farther the French went, the more difficult it was to secure them. The English, on the other hand, had their communications by sea. They could thus avoid lengthening their lines, whilst when strong enough to take the offensive they could strike at the communications of the French and compel—as Moore in the Corunna campaign and Wellington in the Vittoria campaign—the French to retreat.

Wellesley had as his opponents in the Peninsular War generals trained by Napoleon, who pursued tactics that had been eminently successful when employed by that master of the art of war. Briefly, Napoleon's tactics at this time were to concentrate his artillery fire upon the point selected for attack; and then to throw at the weak spot either a great mass of cavalry or else a great mass of infantry in columns of nine, eighteen, or, as at Waterloo, twenty-four deep, the columns being preceded by a cloud of nimble skirmishers who occupied the enemy's attention. Wellesley's genius, however, was equal to these tactics. First, in order to preserve his troops from the enemy's fire, he kept his troops till the last possible moment out of sight—behind a wall, for instance, or the crest of a hill. Secondly, when the French cavalry charged, he relied on the solidity of a British square. But when he was fighting the French infantry column, he had his men in line, two deep. This formation, so long as it remained steady, had great advantages; through its length it could outflank the enemy, and it could pour at a closely massed column a deadly fire to which only the leading files of a column could reply.[1] The British line would fire one or two volleys at short range, so short that the soldiers often waited to see the white of their enemies' eyes before firing. They would follow up this attack with a bayonet charge before the enemy had time to recover, and then retire to await a fresh charge from the forces opposed to them.

French and British tactics.

Wellesley made his presence felt immediately after his arrival in Portugal in 1809. He found his enemies superior in numbers

[1] Wellesley took care to prevent his own line being outflanked, and protected it in front by a powerful line of skirmishers, so that the skirmishers of the enemy should not harass it.

but divided. Marching eighty miles in three and a half days, he crossed the Douro, drove Soult out of Oporto, and chased him into Spain. Then he passed over the Spanish frontier, and in combination with a Spanish army turned upon another French general in the valley of the Tagus. But the slackness of the Spanish general and the arrival of French reinforcements forced him, after winning a two days' battle at *Talavera*, to retire into Portugal instead of advancing upon Madrid. In Portugal for a time Wellesley had to act on the defensive. Napoleon had poured huge reinforcements into Spain and the Spanish armies had suffered severe defeats. And then the French, under Masséna, invaded Portugal in 1810 to drive "the English leopard into the sea".

The Talavera campaign, 1809.

Masséna's invasion of Portugal was a critical moment in the history of Europe; for if Wellesley had been expelled from that country, it seems not improbable that Great Britain would have yielded to Napoleon. Our intervention in the Peninsula had been fiercely attacked by many of the leading politicians of the day. The nation was tired of the continual failure of our continental expeditions, and regarded Napoleon as invincible. Moreover, owing to the increasing rigour of the Continental System, there was much distress in England, and the nation was greatly depressed. But Wellesley had devised a new and original plan against Masséna's forces. Lisbon—his base—stood upon a peninsula. For the last six months Wellesley's engineers, aided by the peasantry of the district, had been secretly protecting the neck of that peninsula with three lines of defence—the famous "*lines of Torres Vedras*". These lines—the first of which was twenty-nine miles long—had been made with great ingenuity: in one place a river had been dammed to make a great lake, elsewhere the hills had been scarped so as to make them precipitous, the ravines filled with barricades of trees, and redoubts had been built at regular intervals for the guns. Meanwhile the inhabitants from the whole district in front of these lines had been ordered to destroy or carry away their foodstuffs and to retire either to Lisbon or to the mountains.

The Lines of Torres Vedras, 1810–1.

In 1810 Wellesley, after defeating Masséna at *Busaco*, retired behind these lines. Masséna, who only heard of the

existence of these defences five days before he arrived in front of them, found the first line impregnable, and the whole country round absolutely denuded of supplies. For a month he remained outside these lines; for nearly five more he stayed in Portugal, but his men suffered terribly from sickness and hunger, and he finally retired from the country back to Spain in the spring of 1811 with his object unattained and with twenty-five thousand less men than when he had entered it. Wellington was now able to advance. But he did nothing decisive in 1811, though two victories were secured, the one by Wellington at *Fuentes d'Onoro*, and the other by Beresford, through the magnificent charging of two Fusilier regiments, at *Albuera*.[1]

Napoleon's Russian campaign, 1812.

With 1812 came the beginning of the end of Napoleon's omnipotence. Russia had been gradually drifting apart from Napoleon and had been so hard hit by the Continental System that she had practically abandoned it. It was essential to Napoleon's policy that the system should be upheld, and he determined to invade Russia. History has few greater tragedies to record than the fate of Napoleon's expedition. Before he started, Napoleon received the homage of kings and princes at a brilliant gathering in Dresden. He then entered Russia with an army of over six hundred thousand men—a larger and more motley army than any seen since the time of Xerxes. After fighting a most murderous battle at *Borodino*, he entered the old capital of Russia, Moscow—but only to find it a deserted city, whilst on his arrival large parts of it were set on fire by incendiaries. After a brief stay he decided to retire, and on his return journey had to endure the awful rigours of a Russian winter and the pitiless and persistent attacks of the Russian cavalry. Less than sixty thousand of his troops eventually recrossed the Russian frontier in fighting condition. Napoleon himself left his troops before the end and hurried home accompanied by only three companions, and finally returned to Paris in a hackney coach.

Meantime, Wellington was able to take the offensive and to

[1] "They were bad soldiers," was the French commander's comment upon the British at Albuera; "they were completely beaten, the day was mine, and yet they did not know it and would not run."

invade Spain, Napoleon having withdrawn many of the French troops for the campaign in Russia. The two main routes into Spain were guarded by the fortresses of *Ciudad Rodrigo* and *Badajoz*; Wellington captured the one in eleven and the other in sixteen days, before the French armies could be brought up for their relief. Then, at the battle of *Salamanca*, if he did not, as is usually said, "beat forty thousand Frenchmen in forty minutes", he fell with such vigour upon a force which the French had detached to cut off his line of retreat that he routed it in under that time, and followed up this blow by decisively defeating the main body. As a result of Salamanca Joseph fled from Madrid, and Soult retired from Andalusia. Wellington occupied Madrid, and went north and besieged *Burgos*; but with an insufficient siege train he was unable to take it, and the concentration of the French armies forced him into a retreat which cost thousands of lives. The result of the whole campaign of 1812 was, however, that Southern Spain was permanently freed from the French.

Wellington's campaign in 1812.

Towards the close of 1812 Castlereagh had become the British foreign secretary, and it was largely owing to his exertions that a *Fourth Coalition*, which included Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and a little later Austria, was formed against Napoleon. Consequently the French forces in the Peninsula were still further reduced, to provide Napoleon with an army to fight in Germany. Wellington therefore was able to develop a brilliantly offensive campaign in 1813. By keeping a large force under Graham threatening the French right and rear, he drove back the French army in six weeks from Salamanca to *Vittoria*, and at the latter place was able by his superiority in numbers—eighty thousand to sixty-five thousand—not only to defeat the French but to cut off their retreat by the main road. Wellington captured a hundred and forty-three guns besides one million pounds sterling, whilst Joseph and the remnants of his army had to escape as best they could by a rough mule track.[1] What is more im-

The campaign of Vittoria and the War of the Pyrenees, 1813.

[1] Amongst other things Wellington captured some valuable Spanish pictures which Joseph was taking out of Spain. At the end of the war Wellington offered to return them to the King of Spain, but the king generously gave them to Wellington, and they are now at Apsley House.

portant, the victory was not without influence in inducing Austria to join Prussia and Russia in the campaign which ended in Napoleon's downfall at the great battle of *Leipzig*. After a short interval there followed, during the next four months, what is known as the *War of the Pyrenees*. Soult had been sent by Napoleon to reorganize the army against Wellington, but, though he fought skilfully, he failed to prevent either the storming of San Sebastian or the surrender of Pampeluna, and before the end of the year Wellington had crossed the French frontier and was threatening Bayonne.

The invasion of France and the abdication of Napoleon, 1814.

With 1814 the end came. Soult with an army of fifty thousand—for Napoleon could spare him no more—retreated eastward so as to be able to threaten Wellington's flank if he went north, or to draw him away from his true base, the sea, if he followed. Wellington chose the latter course, and won the battles of *Orthez* and *Toulouse*. But before Toulouse was fought, the war was really over, as the allies, invading France in overwhelming numbers, had advanced upon Paris and had forced Napoleon to abdicate. The Peninsular War had been of inestimable importance. It cost Napoleon, according to Wellington's calculations, not far short of half a million men; Napoleon himself called it a "running sore"—a constant drain of money and men which proved fatal to his ambitions. It re-established the prestige of the British army, and it gave Spain the opportunity of showing that no despot, however powerful, can trample upon the independence of a proud nation.

So after close on twenty years of war France was beaten back to her own borders. The reasons of her success for the time and her eventual failure lie deeper than the genius of Napoleon and the counterbalancing dogged accuracy of Wellington—the compensation which Fate gave us[1]—they lie in what is greater than great men, namely great ideas. At the beginning France stood as the champion of *Liberty*, and Europe generally was longing for more liberty. Hence, wherever the invading French went, they were more or less welcomed as liberators by

[1] Both generals were born in 1769. "Fate owed us that compensation" was the comment subsequently made: Wellington was, however, born first.

the people. This was so in Italy, and Holland, and Germany. Thus the resistance in these countries was often half-hearted. Briefly, it was the new ideas of the Revolution fighting against kings and princes, representatives of the old despotism—and the kings were beaten. As time went on, however, it was revealed that the French did not practise what they preached. They made "war support war": they lived at free quarters in the countries they nominally came to set free, and a taste of this soon lost the favour they had at first won. Napoleon made the change plain. A despot himself, his armies rapidly became the oppressors of Europe instead of its liberators, and this soon bred a national hostility to him. It could not work at once, because his armies were so enormously superior. But this feeling of *Patriotism*, which he roused everywhere against him—indeed, almost created in Germany—triumphed in the end. So in the contest of the peoples of Europe against one despot, Napoleon was bound to go down. Rightly is the fight of Leipzig (his first great defeat in a pitched battle) called the Völkerschlacht, "The Fight of the Nations". It was national patriotism which crushed him.

The same fact is revealed in another way. At first all the wars which France had to wage in Europe were short. Austria was the only country which kept up a fairly continuous war, and even she had made peace four times before Leipzig. Shattering defeats at Rivoli, Marengo, and Hohenlinden, Austerlitz and Wagram brought her to the ground. Of the others, Prussia and Russia joined for brief periods; Spain and the German States wavered now to one side, now to the other. Great Britain alone was constant, but at first could find no decisive point of attack. Victories at sea and the capturing of colonies could not end the war. But when she found and fostered a national spirit of resistance in Portugal and Spain, Napoleon's downfall began. The Peninsular War is the first *long* war with which he had to grapple, and he could not end it, partly because of the patriotic, though guerrilla, warfare which Spain fought, and partly because he could not strike at the heart of the sea-power which supported Spain. His troops entered every European capital;[1] but they could not

[1] Except Constantinople, Christiania and Stockholm, and St. Petersburg; but they reached Moscow.

reach London. And so the long struggle in Spain gave Europe time to rally.

War between Great Britain and the United States, 1812–4.

Meantime, whilst Wellington was fighting in the Peninsula, Great Britain found herself involved in a new war. The "Continental System" and the British retaliatory measures had placed the United States and other neutral countries in an almost intolerable position. A neutral ship, if it was sailing to or from a British port, might be seized by the French; if it was not, it might be seized by the British. Moreover, the British had searched United States merchant vessels, and even on one occasion a United States war vessel, for British seamen who had joined American ships to avoid being impressed into British men-of-war. Disputes led to war being declared in 1812. In the earlier stages of the war, though Captain Broke in the *Shannon* upheld our prestige by causing the American frigate *Chesapeake* to surrender in fifteen minutes, the American frigates—so equipped as to be almost ships of the line—won many successes over the lighter-armed British frigates; and United States privateers took some five hundred British merchantmen in seven months. The land operations of the United States across the Canadian frontier were, however, a failure. The Canadians, whether of French or of British descent, combined with the British regulars to resist the invasion, and fought with great courage and persistency. Eventually Great Britain, in 1814, after Napoleon's abdication, was able to send a large fleet and her Peninsular veterans to America. Washington was taken, but an attack upon New Orleans failed, and peace was made at the end of the year.

4. The "Hundred Days", 1815

Napoleon, on his abdication, had been given Elba—a small island off Tuscany—to rule as an independent principality.

The Congress of Vienna, and Napoleon's return from Elba, 1815.

Meanwhile the Bourbon line in the person of Louis XVIII—a brother of Louis XVI—had been restored in France, and a great *Congress*—in which Lord Castlereagh represented Great Britain—was held at *Vienna* to settle the affairs of Europe. The congress

had not completed its labours when suddenly it heard of Napoleon's return to France. The temporary absence of the British frigate which watched Elba had enabled Napoleon to escape and to land in France with eight hundred men. He was received in France by his old soldiers with enthusiasm, and reached Paris on March 20, 1815, without so much as firing a shot. Then begins the period known in history as that of "*the Hundred Days*". Louis XVIII had to fly. Napoleon reconstituted the Government, and announced that he was going to pursue a policy of peace towards other countries and to grant liberal institutions to France. But the allies put no trust in Napoleon's promises. The Congress of Vienna outlawed him, and declared him to be an enemy and disturber of the peace of the world. Each of the big powers—Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia—undertook to supply a hundred and fifty thousand soldiers, whilst Great Britain as usual was to provide subsidies.

The plan of the allies was to make a joint advance upon Paris. But in June only the British and Prussians were ready. In Belgium, Wellington had about eighty-five thousand men under his command; one-third were British (very few of whom had seen any service before), one-third Germans, and one-third Dutch Belgians. Blücher, the Prussian general, commanded some hundred and twenty-four thousand Germans. Wellington and Blücher were acting in concert, and their combined armies were spread over a very much-extended line, not far short of a hundred miles in length, and some miles away from the French frontier. Napoleon's idea was to make a sudden and unexpected attack on the centre of the allied line; this would enable him to push his own forces like a wedge between Wellington and Blücher, and, as their bases lay in opposite directions, the one to the west and the other to the east, to defeat them in detail. Leaving Paris on June 12, Napoleon marched to the frontier, passed through Charleroi, and by the evening of the 15th he himself was in front of part of the Prussian forces which lay at Ligny, whilst Ney, his chief commander, was some seven miles farther west at Quatre Bras, where some of Wellington's troops were posted.

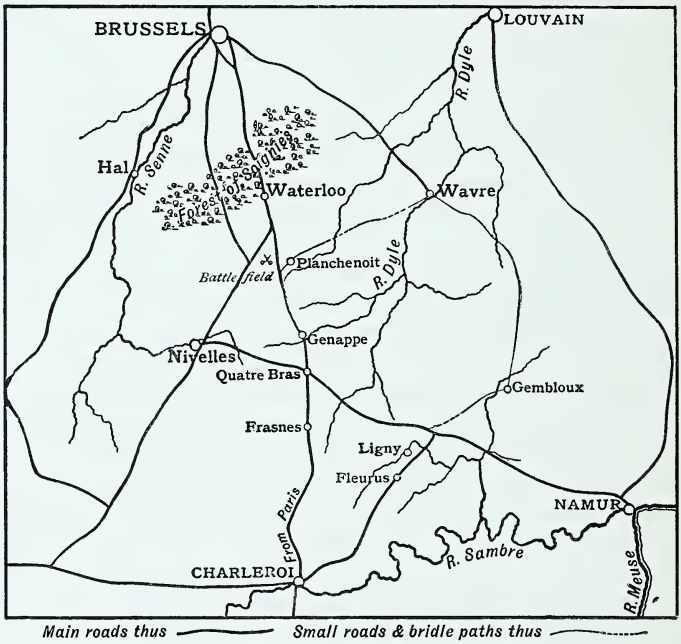
Napoleon's plan of campaign.

"It was the finest thing ever done," said Wellington of

Napoleon's performance, "so rapid was it and so well combined."

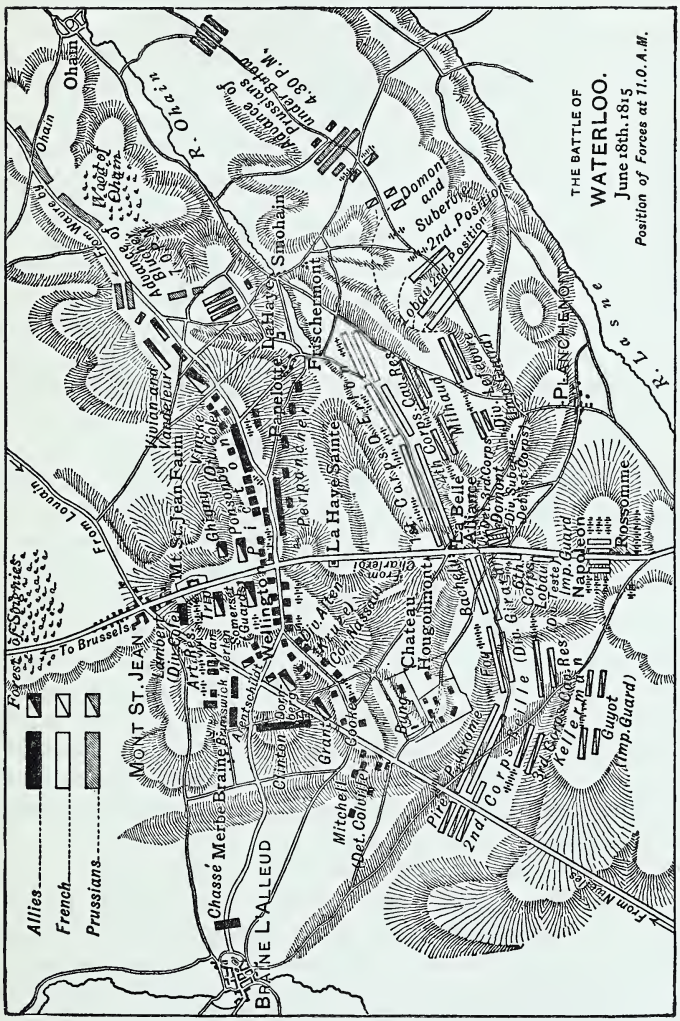
Ligny and Quatre Bras, June 16.

The allies were surprised and outmanœuvred; but, fortunately for them, both Napoleon and Ney wasted the morning of the 16th, and this delay enabled Blücher and Wellington—the latter of whom had attended the



Duchess of Richmond's famous ball at Brussels on the previous evening—to concentrate a large part of their forces. In the afternoon of the 16th came two battles. Napoleon beat the Prussians at Ligny. Ney at first crumpled up Wellington's lines at Quatre Bras, but the stubbornness of the British soldiers, and the fact that Napoleon had withdrawn, without Ney's knowledge, part of Ney's right wing to assist in Blücher's downfall, led to his final repulse.[1]

[1] The Duke of Wellington had a very long day on the 16th. He left Brussels in the morning, and rode out beyond Quatre Bras; then he visited Blücher at Ligny, and warned him of


THE BATTLE OF
WATERLOO.
June 18th. 1815
Position of Forces at 11.0. A.M.
Allies
French
Prussians
Forest of Soignies
To Brussels
From Louvain
MONT ST. JEAN
Mt. St. Jean Farm
Wellington
Merbe Braine
Chassé
Clinton
Mitchell
Gen. Colquhoun
BRAINE L'ALLEUD
Papelotte
La Haye
La Haye Sainte
Smohain
Frischemont
Ohain
Wood of Ohain
Lasne
R. Lasne
Domon and Suberwic
2nd. Position
Chateau Hougoumont
Bachelu
Foy
Piré
Pack
Kempt
Kempt's Brigade
Picton's Brigade
Kempt's Brigade
Pack's Brigade
Lambert's Brigade
Maitland's Brigade
Adam's Brigade
Halkett's Brigade
Colin Halkett's Brigade
Detmer's Brigade
Ompteda's Brigade
Kielmansegge's Brigade
Duke of Brunswick's Corps
Nassau Contingent
Prince Frederick's Corps
Prince Bernhard's Corps
Prince William's Corps
Prince of Orange's Corps

The day after these two battles—the 17th of June—was occupied with marches. At dawn the Prussians retreated, not east towards Namur, their base of operations, as Napoleon had expected, but north in order to keep in touch with Wellington. About ten o'clock Wellington began to retreat north. Napoleon himself, worn out with the exertions of the previous few days, again wasted the morning, and not till about 2 p.m. did Grouchy, one of Napoleon's generals, start in pursuit of the Prussians, and Napoleon himself in pursuit of Wellington. Nightfall found Wellington in position near Waterloo and Napoleon's troops beginning to arrive there, whilst the Prussian army was sixteen miles away at Wavre, and Grouchy, who had only just discovered the Prussian line of retreat, was some way to the south of it. During the night Wellington received promise of help from Blücher and determined to hold his ground.[1]

Movements of armies, June 17.

On the 18th came the battle of Waterloo. It was fought in an undulating country green with growing corn and clover, and the ground was saturated with heavy rain. Wellington's forces lay on one slope, and Napoleon's on another, a shallow valley separating the positions of the two armies, which were about a mile apart. The distance from one flank to the other in each army was about three miles. Wellington placed his troops on the side of the slope away from the French, so as to be out of sight. To his front were two detached points. To his right front was the farm and orchard of Hougoumont, which were held by the Guards. In front of his centre, flanking the Charleroi-Brussels road, which ran like a spit through the centre of both armies, was the farm of La Haye Sainte, defended by German troops.

The battle of Waterloo, June 18.

The battle began soon after eleven o'clock with an attack on Hougoumont, but twelve hundred Guardsmen repulsed this and subsequent attacks made during the day by some

the dangerous position he had taken up. He had therefore ridden over forty miles before the battle of Quatre Bras began, and he remained in the saddle till nightfall. A general officer found him late that night, when his troops were asleep, chuckling over some English newspapers which had just arrived!

[1] It is said that the Duke of Wellington himself rode over to Wavre during the night of the 17th, and got personal assurance of support from Blücher—but the story lacks confirmation. He received a message anyway before dawn on the 18th.

ten thousand French troops. There followed, about 1.30, an artillery attack, which was the prelude to a great infantry advance of D'Erlon's corps, twenty-four battalions in four columns, each twenty-four deep, against Wellington's left and left centre. But Wellington's infantry, and Picton's brigade in particular, shattered the heads of the columns with its volleys and charged. Then the British cavalry completed the rout of the French infantry—though they suffered severely by charging too far. About 4 p.m. came renewed attacks by the French, this time on Wellington's right centre. The British and Hanoverian regiments had to form square to resist a succession of magnificent charges, some fifteen or sixteen in number, made by the French cavalry, whilst in the intervals of these charges they came under the fire of the French skirmishers and artillery. La Haye Sainte was vigorously attacked, and lack of ammunition caused its defenders about 6.30 p.m. to surrender.

This was the crisis of the battle; if fresh reinforcements had been sent by Napoleon, Wellington's centre might have been pierced. But meanwhile the Prussians had kept their promise—though somewhat tardily, for they should have arrived at noon and did not arrive till 4.30—and, unmolested by Grouchy, who was still some miles away, captured *Plancenoit* on Napoleon's left. Not till it was recaptured did Napoleon give orders for the last great charge of the French—the charge of the Guard—against Wellington's right and centre. This was at 7.15 p.m., and by that time another column of the Prussians had attached itself to Wellington's left flank and allowed him to reinforce his centre and right. The charge of the French Guard was triumphantly repulsed, and the Prussians then undertook the pursuit of the defeated French army.[1] Napoleon's cause was now hopeless. On July 22 he abdicated, and subsequently surrendered

[1] The Duke described the battle in a letter: "Never did I see such a pounding match. Both were what the boxers call gluttons. Napoleon did not manœuvre at all; he just moved forward in the old style, in columns, and was driven off in the old style. . . . I never saw the British infantry behave so well." To someone else the Duke described the battle, the day after it was fought, "as the nearest run thing you ever saw in your life". It is said that a Guardsman confessed to having felt bored at the battle of Waterloo; but, on the other hand, a boy of fourteen, who had left Eton to take part in the campaign, wrote to his mother after the battle was over: "Dear Mamma, Cousin Tom and I are all right. I never saw anything like it in my life."

to the commander of a British man-of-war, and was sent by the British government as a prisoner to St. Helena, where he died six years later (1821).

In conclusion we must glance at the territorial arrangements begun at the *Congress of Vienna*, before Napoleon's escape from Elba, and completed after the battle of Waterloo by the *Treaty of Paris*. Of her conquests, Great Britain kept Malta, the Mauritius, and the Cape of Good Hope—the potential value of which was not realized at that time. France kept, with small differences, the boundaries she possessed before the Revolution broke out. Belgium—or the Austrian Netherlands—was joined to Holland. The Czar was given a large part of Poland, Prussia obtained half of Saxony and large districts on the Rhine, and Austria got Lombardy and Venetia. The German States—now thirty-nine in number—were formed into a Confederacy under the presidency of Austria. To Spain and the Italian States their old rulers were returned.

The Treaty of Paris, 1815.

XLI. Domestic Affairs, 1760-1815

We must now deal with the domestic history of Great Britain, from the accession of George III till the battle of Waterloo. The two most conspicuous features of that period are: first, the great development of trade and industry, the history of which is dealt with later; and, secondly, the series of great wars, the story of which we have already told. Great Britain during this period was almost continuously at war. She enjoyed a period of repose for twelve years between 1763 and 1775, and for ten years between 1783 and 1793; but public attention during a great part of the first of these intervals was occupied with the American controversy, and for the later years of the second with the French Revolution. Home politics, therefore, are somewhat unimportant, and the period is one, so far as legislation is concerned, of stagnation. The chief interest of the earlier part of George III's reign lies in the attempt of the king to free himself

1760–1815, Character of period.

from Whig control, and of the later part in the administration and personality of the younger Pitt.

George III, the grandson of George II, was throughout his reign a popular monarch. And in many ways he deserved his popularity. He was a thorough gentleman. He was a devoted husband, and except when his sons were at fault—and they often were—an affectionate father. He was simple in all his tastes, sincere in his religion, and imperturbably brave.[1] He was not without interests in art and literature; his library was a magnificent one, and most of the drawings at Windsor were purchased by him, whilst he had a fine collection of miniatures and gems. Moreover, having been born and educated in Great Britain, he could glory, as he said, in the name of "Briton", whilst his fondness for the public schools, his devotion to hunting,[2] and his keenness as a farmer showed that he shared the interests of the Englishmen of his day. But his education had been inadequate, and he could hardly be considered a learned monarch; his English was ungrammatical, his spelling inaccurate, and his stock of general knowledge somewhat slender, whilst he is said to have expressed an opinion that Shakespeare wrote "much sad stuff".[3] Moreover, he had been brought up in great seclusion by his German mother, and suffered from an inability to see anybody's point of view but his own. Consequently he was ignorant and bigoted in his opinions, and self-confident and obstinate in upholding them; and it is melancholy to think that a monarch in many ways so estimable should have spent a long life, as has been said, in obstinately resisting measures which are now almost universally admitted to be good, and in supporting measures which are as universally admitted to be bad. To him, perhaps more than to anyone else, does Great Britain owe the loss of her American colonies, the failure to pacify Ireland, the delay of

Character of George III.

[1] Not even a shot fired at him as he was entering his box at a theatre prevented him from enjoying his usual nap during the interval between the play and the afterpiece.

[2] He was so fond of riding that even when he was blind he used to take long rides in Windsor Park, accompanied by a groom with a leading-rein.

[3] It is worth remembering, however, that George III, when recovering from his first attack of insanity, asked for *King Lear*. That same evening, on seeing his three eldest daughters, he said of the play: "It is very beautiful, very affecting, very awful. I am like poor Lear, but, thank God, I have no Regan, no Goneril, only three Cordelias."

parliamentary reform, and the long continuance of the slave trade. Yet it must be remembered in his defence that the views which he held were those of the average Englishman of that day, and the blame must be shared by the king and his subjects alike.

His desire for power.

George came to the throne determined to govern as well as to reign. "George, be a king", were the words which his mother—accustomed to the despotism, benevolent or otherwise, of German princes—constantly repeated to him. And a real king George was determined to be. For such an attempt the time was opportune. Some distinguished men, such as Bolingbroke, had advocated during the reign of his predecessor that the monarchy should recover its lost power. The king could rely on the devoted support of the Tories, who were by this time completely reconciled to the Hanoverian dynasty.[1] And through places and pensions and secret service money he could influence many votes, whilst a body of people known as the "king's friends" were prepared in the House of Lords to act according to his wishes.

The ministries.

The king, however, found it difficult to get rid of the Whig oligarchy with their family connections and their long experience of government, and he had to depend largely upon its members to fill his ministries during the first few years of his reign. But the Whigs were divided among themselves, fighting, as a contemporary said, like Highland clans, for places and power, and George could change one Whig ministry for another without difficulty if it conflicted with his views. · Consequently the ministries are of short duration, and during the first ten years of George III's reign there are no less than seven. Within a year of the king's accession the ministry which had conducted the Seven Years War with such glorious success came to an end. *Pitt* resigned, because his colleagues in the cabinet refused to go to war with Spain, and things were made so uncomfortable for *Newcastle* that he followed Pitt's example six months later.[2]

Pitt and Newcastle, 1757-61.

[1] Burke said of the Tories on George III's accession: "They had changed their idol but preserved their idolatry".

[2] Most of the bishops had received their sees from Newcastle, and had been regular and obsequious attendants at his levees, but on his fall they thought it prudent to abstain from attending in the future. "Even fathers in God", was Newcastle's comment, "sometimes forget their Maker."

Lord *Bute*, formerly the king's tutor, and therefore largely responsible for his views, then obtained the chief power; but he retired after effecting the Treaty of Paris, which ended the Seven Years War, as he preferred to influence affairs from the background, and was by intellect and experience quite unfitted to govern the country. Moreover, he was extremely unpopular in England, partly because he was a Scot and partly because he was considered a favourite of the queen mother, and he had actually been obliged to enrol a bodyguard composed of butchers and boxers for his personal protection in London.[1]

Bute, 1762-3.

George Grenville, a Whig lawyer, very hard-working but somewhat pedantic, succeeded as prime minister in 1763. With his ministry is connected the unfortunate Stamp Act (p. 501). This aroused, however, far less attention at the time than the arrest by a "general warrant" (i.e. one in which no names are mentioned) of "the authors, printers, and publishers" of No. 45 of a certain paper called the *North Briton*. That paper had published criticism of a somewhat stringent character on the King's Speech at the opening of the session, a speech which as usual was only read and not composed by the king. The writer of the criticism happened to be a certain Wilkes, well known as a member of Parliament; public opinion was on his side and considered general warrants illegal, and the Government became unpopular. Grenville also, by his pertinacious and tiresome loquacity,[2] had made himself disliked by the king; and consequently he had to resign in 1765. "I would sooner meet Mr. Grenville", the king is reported to have said a little later, "at the point of my sword than let him into my cabinet." And Grenville was never to hold office again.

Grenville, 1763-5.

To Grenville succeeded another Whig in *Lord Rockingham*. He and his followers were high-principled politicians, and it was a great disaster to the nation that

Rockingham, 1765-6.

[1] Bute's ministry was notorious for its bribery; on one morning, it is said, no less than £25,000 was expended in purchasing votes.

[2] "When he has wearied me for two hours," the king complained, "he looks at his watch to see if he may not tire me for one hour more."

Pitt, whose gout led him to take a less and less continuous part in public affairs, and made him more difficult to deal with, would not consent to serve under him. This ministry repealed the Stamp Act and declared "general warrants" illegal; but as a consequence it incurred the hostility of the king, and was dismissed after lasting just over a year (1766).

In *Pitt* (now created Earl of Chatham), the new prime minister, George III found a statesman more congenial to him, for Pitt was hostile to all parties, and declared his intention of governing according to the king's wishes. But illness soon incapacitated him, and it was then that Townshend, the chancellor of the exchequer, reopened the American question by his foolish duties (see p. 502). In composition Chatham's ministry was, as a contemporary described it, "a piece of mosaic", made up of politicians from different factions, and on Chatham's final retirement from office, in 1768, the ministry was left—if the change of metaphor may be allowed—like a ship without a rudder. The *Duke of Grafton*, a young man of thirty-two, who succeeded Chatham as the leader of the ministry, was a person of "lounging opinions", and more at home on a racecourse than at a cabinet meeting. During Grafton's tenure of power the House of Commons, under the leadership of his ministry, expelled Wilkes for having written to a newspaper a letter which both Houses declared to be libellous. The county of Middlesex, however, continued to elect him, and the House of Commons kept on expelling him. But at length, on the fourth occasion, the House of Commons declared his opponent to be elected,[1] a flagrantly unconstitutional action which produced a dangerous riot, Wilkes being a popular hero. For this and other actions Grafton and the ministry were unsparingly attacked in some letters—the *Letters of Junius*—the authorship of which is still disputed, and which had considerable influence at the time.[2] Finally, the

Chatham, 1766–8.

Grafton, 1768–70.

[1] Wilkes, on the fourth occasion, had received 1143 votes and his opponent only 296. But the House decided that his opponent "ought to have been elected", and therefore declared him the duly elected member.

[2] No writer, it has been said, ever surpassed "Junius" in condensed and virulent invective. Amongst others, Lord George Sackville, Grattan, Burke, Gibbon, Lord Chatham, Lord Temple, the brother of George Grenville, and Sir Philip Francis have been credited with the authorship of the letters; the two last-named seem to be the least unlikely.

ministry was criticized by Chatham, its former leader, for its foreign policy, and Grafton accordingly resigned in 1770.

At last George was supreme, and for the next twelve years, from 1770 to 1782, he was really his own prime minister. The nominal head of the Government was *Lord North*, a good-humoured, easygoing, tactful person, who was quite content to leave the initiative in policy and even the details of administration to the king.[1] The chief interest of this Government lies in its policy towards the American colonies, with which we have dealt elsewhere (p. 503). With large majorities in both Houses,[2] with its policy approved by the nation, with the enthusiastic support of the Tories, and only a divided Whig opposition to attack it, the position of the ministry was for long unassailable. The disasters and mismanagement of the American War, however, finally led to great dissatisfaction. The growing power of George III was regarded with alarm, and in 1780 a motion was carried in the House of Commons that the "influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished". In the same year came a formidable ultra-Protestant riot, owing to an Act of Parliament repealing some of the laws against the Roman Catholics; its leader was Lord George Gordon, and all London east of Charing Cross was at the mercy of a mob, till George III himself ordered the troops to disperse the people without waiting to read the Riot Act.[3] The proposal of a similar Bill for Scotland, granting concessions to the Roman Catholics, aroused such an uproar

The King and Lord North, 1770–82.

[1] On two occasions the king actually summoned and presided over a cabinet meeting, delivering on the first occasion a "discourse" which "took up near an hour in delivering".

[2] The king always took a very active interest in elections, but especially at this period. Thus one of the members for the city of London died in 1779; at "forty-two minutes past 6 p.m." on the same day that the member died the king wrote to Lord North about the vacancy. In the election of 1774, Lord North, acting for the king, bought the six seats in Cornwall which Lord Falmouth controlled, for 2500 guineas each, Lord North complaining that Lord Falmouth was "rather shabby in desiring guineas rather than pounds"; whilst at Windsor—which at that time was hostile to the ministry—the king had six houses, which he rented in the town, entered in the names of six of his servants so as to create six votes in his favour.

[3] For four days London was in the hands of the mob; Newgate prison was destroyed, and its 300 prisoners released; Roman Catholic chapels were burnt; and a distillery was attacked, with the result that immense casks of spirits were broken, and many of the mob were killed by drinking too much. The leader, Lord George Gordon, eventually became a Jew and died a madman.

in that country that it had to be abandoned. Finally, in 1782, after the capitulation of Yorktown and the loss of Minorca, Lord North insisted upon resigning—to the great disgust of the king, who never forgave him for this "desertion", as he called it; "remember, my Lord," said the king on parting from him, "that it is you who desert me, not I you".

The Whig leaders, 1782.

On Lord North's fall, in 1782, the Whigs again returned to power. By this time many of the older politicians, such as Newcastle, Grenville, and Chatham (d. 1778), had died. Lord Rockingham was, however, still alive, and the other most prominent Whigs were Shelburne, Fox, and Burke. *Shelburne* was a man of great ability and great foresight, but he was much distrusted, and known as "the Jesuit of Berkeley Square". The truth seems to have been that though, as a distinguished writer has said, his conduct was always exemplary, it was always in need of explanation, and was consequently apt to be misunderstood, whilst his speeches were often ambiguous and liable to misinterpretation.

Shelburne.

Fox.

Charles James Fox was a strange mixture of virtues and vices. He has been described as the most genial of all associates and the most beloved of all friends. He was a great lover of literature, and read through his Homer, it was said, every year. He was energetic in all that he did, whether in taking writing lessons when secretary of state to improve his handwriting, or in swimming and cricket, and he became, through constant practice, an incomparable debater.[1] Yet he ran through a fortune by gambling before he was twenty-four, was the leader of every sort of extravagant fashion—including red-heeled shoes and blue hair-powder—and a man of no sort of moderation or of judgment in his opinions. His political life was varied. Beginning as a Tory and a member of Lord North's ministry, he became a violent Whig during the American War, and developed into a still more violent Radical as a supporter of the French Revolution. Towards the end of his life he was a believer in the good faith and good intentions of Napoleon towards Great

[1] In one session he spoke at every sitting except one, and he always regretted that he had abstained from speaking on that occasion.

Britain. Whatever views he held he supported passionately. As a statesman, however, he failed to gain the confidence of the king or of the nation, and from the time he left the Tory ministry, in 1774, till the time of his death, in 1806, he was only in office for twenty months.

Of *Edmund Burke* it has been said that, "Bacon alone excepted, he was the greatest political thinker that has ever devoted himself to the practice of English politics". An Irishman by birth, and educated at Dublin University, he became, when thirty-six years of age, secretary to Lord Rockingham, and a Whig member of Parliament (1765). He was a keen Whig and a great writer and talker. His speeches had enormous influence; for all politicians read them, though members of Parliament did not always listen to them, as they were long and awkwardly delivered.[1] Possessed of wonderful knowledge, he formed opinions which posterity has agreed were generally right. Thus he was in favour of a policy of conciliation with the American colonies; he supported the claims of the Roman Catholics for emancipation, and of the Dissenters for complete toleration; he wished to reform the penal code and the debtors laws; and he attacked the slave trade. But though he wished to diminish the corruption of Parliament, he was a great admirer of the British constitution as it then existed, and he was opposed to any extension of the franchise or redistribution of the constituencies. Moreover, he had a great horror of any violent reforms, and hence became an impassioned opponent of the French Revolution, as was shown in his "Reflections" upon it.

Burke.

Samuel Johnson once said that Burke and Chatham were the only two men he knew who had risen considerably above the common standard, and it is an extraordinary thing that Burke should never have had a seat in any cabinet. He did not, however, belong to one of the governing families, and his Irish extraction made Englishmen inclined to distrust him. Moreover, his judgment was occasionally warped to such an

[1] Burke spoke with a strong Irish accent, his gestures were clumsy, and his delivery was described as execrable. Yet of one of his speeches in the Warren Hastings impeachment a contemporary wrote, "Burke did not, I believe, leave a dry eye in the whole assembly".

extent by his imagination, as in the charges which he brought against Warren Hastings, that it became entirely unreliable. But of his writings one of the greatest English historians has said, "The time may come when they may no longer be read; the time will never come in which men will not grow the wiser by reading them".

The Whig ministries, 1782-3; Lord Rockingham.

On the resignation of Lord North in 1782 the Whigs returned to power for a time, but their ministries were shortlived, and prime ministers followed one another in quick succession during the next two years. The first prime minister was *Lord Rockingham.* His ministry was able to accomplish two things before its leader died. It granted to Ireland an independent Parliament (p. 579). It also passed, through the influence of Burke, a bill to diminish political corruption and the influence of the Crown, by reducing the number of office-holders and the amount of pensions, and by excluding from the franchise revenue officers, who had hitherto formed one-sixth of the electorate and had voted as the Crown wished. *Lord Shelburne* was the next prime minister. He made the treaty which ended the American War. His fall was brought about by a coalition between Fox, the Whig, and Lord North, the Tory, who both disliked Shelburne. The king was obliged to submit to a new Government in which Fox and North, under the nominal leadership of a "dull dumb duke" (the phrase is Lord Rosebery's), in the person of *Portland*, had the chief influence. That coalition was a discreditable affair. Fox had attacked Lord North when in office with a virulence which should have made any combination between the two impossible. And the only defence which can be made is that Lord North was placable and easygoing, and that Fox was—Fox.[1]

Lord Shelburne.

Coalition of Fox and North.

The coalition was to have but a short life. Public opinion condemned it. The king was violently opposed to both Fox and North, and when the cabinet ministers kissed hands on appointment, a humorous contemporary noticed that George III

[1] There is a story that, during the American War, after Fox had denounced a member of Lord North's ministry in most scathing terms, Lord North came up to Fox and said laughingly, "I am glad you did not fall on me, Charles, for you were in high feather to-day."

put back his ears and eyes like a recalcitrant horse at Astley's. The ministry produced a bill for the reorganization of the Government of India. Under its terms the government and patronage of that vast dependency would be under the control, for the next four years, of commissioners, all of whom were Fox's supporters. "The bill", as was said at the time, "would take the diadem off the king's head and put it on that of Mr. Fox." But the king saw his chance; a message was sent to the "king's friends" to vote against the bill, which was accordingly thrown out in the House of Lords.[1] The ministry, though it possessed a large majority in the House of Commons, was then dismissed, just before the Christmas of 1783, after an existence of only eight months.

George's new prime minister was a young man of twenty-four, *William Pitt the younger*, the son of the great Earl of Chatham. William Pitt, born in 1759 — the great year of victories—had been brought up to statesmanship from his earliest infancy, and when, after an education at home and at Cambridge,[2] he entered Parliament in 1780, he at once made his mark. After refusing a subordinate place in Lord Rockingham's ministry, he had become chancellor of the exchequer under Lord Shelburne; and he was now made prime minister on December 19, 1783.

Pitt's ministry, 1783-1801.

Pitt, however, on taking office, had great difficulty in forming a ministry, and being in a minority in the House of Commons his Government was at first looked upon almost as a joke, "as a mince-pie administration", sure to end after the Christmas festivities were over. But Fox and North and their followers who were now in opposition made a mistake. Pitt, despite

[1] The king gave Lord Temple a paper stating that "whoever voted for the bill was not only not his friend but would be considered his enemy; and if these words were not strong enough Earl Temple might use whatever words he might deem stronger and more to the purpose". Armed with this message, Temple had little difficulty in securing the rejection of the bill by a majority of nineteen. This Lord Temple was a son of George Grenville.

[2] William Pitt as a child was very precocious. At the age of seven, when told that his father had been raised to the peerage, he said "that he was glad he was not the eldest son, but that he could serve his country in the House of Commons like his papa". At the age of twelve he wrote his first poem, and when a year older his first play—with a political plot. At the age of fourteen and a half, when he did not weigh much more than six stone, he went to Cambridge—the story, however, that his nurse brought him there in a carriage and stayed to look after him lacks confirmation.

various defeats in the House, held on. His courage and resourcefulness, coupled with the extreme violence of the opposition, won him increasing support; and when in April he dissolved Parliament he came back amidst great popular excitement with a decisive majority, no less than one hundred and sixty of Fox's supporters—Fox's martyrs they were called—losing their seats.[1] For the next seventeen years Pitt, trusted alike by the king and the nation, reigned supreme.

Pitt and the king.

With the accession of Pitt, though the king was still able to exercise at times very great influence, his system of personal government came to an end. For one thing, the king had a minister whom he trusted; and for another, he could not afford to quarrel with Pitt, for if so he would have been thrown back on the Whig opposition. Moreover, the king's health began to decline. Brain troubles incapacitated him for a time in 1788. Increasing blindness, which became serious in 1805, made him retire more and more from public business. After 1811 the madness which had so long threatened led to his complete withdrawal, the Prince of Wales for the remainder of the reign acting as regent, under conditions, however, which left the chief power with the ministers.

Pitt's policy, 1783–93.

Pitt, during the first ten years of his administration, till the outbreak of the war with France in 1793, was able to do much for his country. As a financier, his only equal was Walpole. Although, owing to the Industrial Revolution (Ch. XLIII), times were fairly prosperous, Pitt found our system of national finance very faulty. By simplifying the duties on certain articles, and abolishing and reducing those on others, he not only diminished the opportunities of smuggling, but did a good deal towards remedying the evils of over-protection, the disadvantages of which had been shown in a famous book, Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776. Pitt also

[1] The most exciting election was at Westminster, where Fox was a successful candidate. The poll was open for forty days, and there were continual conflicts between a body of seamen whom Fox's naval opponent, Lord Hood, had brought up to London, and the hackney chairmen, who supported Fox. The king, of course, favoured Hood, whilst the Prince of Wales was an active ally of Fox. But Fox's most successful canvasser was the beautiful Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, who really won the election.

made with France a commercial treaty to encourage exports and imports with that country. Moreover, he did something to reduce the National Debt, while his administration was economically conducted.

But for considerable opposition Pitt might have made greater reforms. He brought forward a bill for parliamentary reform, disfranchising some of the small boroughs; but he was defeated.[1] He proposed to establish complete commercial equality between Great Britain and Ireland; but Fox's tongue was too much for the bill. In one matter—in the impeachment of Warren Hastings (1788)—he has been accused of weakness and inconsistency, because he voted in favour of Hastings over the Rohilla charge, and against him on the other charges. But Pitt acted in good faith, and there is no reason to believe, as was often stated, that he was won over to vote against Warren Hastings by his colleague Dundas, who was jealous of Hastings' abilities. It must always be remembered that in the conduct of Indian affairs Pitt carried through an Act for the regulation of India which settled the basis of our government in that country till after the Mutiny of 1857; and that to him was due the appointment of Cornwallis and Wellesley as governors-general.

The second period of Pitt's administration—from 1793 to 1801—is a period of war, in consequence of the French Revolution. The earlier effects of that Revolution upon British politics have already been referred to. When the war broke out, in 1793, all attempts at reform ceased. "One cannot repair one's house in a hurricane," said a contemporary in Pitt's defence, and instead of reform came coercion. For eight years in succession the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, so that a person could be kept in prison for an indefinite period without being brought up for trial.[2] Bills were passed by which political meetings might be stopped, political societies suppressed, and political refugees from other countries excluded. Yet the great majority of the nation, fearful of a

Influence of French War upon Pitt, 1793–1801.

[1] It must be remembered that in those days members of Parliament were far more independent both of their constituents and of the party "whips" than they are now, and they had no hesitation in voting against any measure of which they disapproved; thus in the years 1785-6 Pitt failed to carry three important proposals, and he complained with regard to his supporters that "we are hardly sure from day to day what impressions they may receive".

[2] If they were imprisoned on the charge of treasonable practices.

revolution at home, demanded such measures. The bulk of the Whig opposition, including Burke, joined Pitt in 1793, and the opposition henceforward was confined to Fox and his supporters, who sank to such small numbers that a couple of hackney coaches, it was said, would comfortably contain them. Meantime Pitt was driven to desperate straits for money; enormous taxes were raised, and the National Debt went up by leaps and bounds.

The "gagging" Acts—as the coercive Acts were called—of Pitt can be defended, but other parts of his administration during this period are more difficult to excuse. In the first place, as we have seen, his administration of the war was, in some respects, open to grave censure. And, secondly, it cannot be considered that his policy in Ireland was successful. Of this something will be said later. All that need be mentioned here is that the Union of Great Britain with Ireland was finally achieved in 1800, and that when the king refused to sanction the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, which, it was understood, would be accomplished along with the Union, Pitt was by dictates of honour compelled in 1801 to resign.

To Pitt succeeded one of his followers, *Addington*. He it was who made the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, and conducted the early stages of the war when it was renewed in 1803. But he was quite unequal to the position.

Addington's ministry, 1801–4.

"Pitt is to Addington
What London is to Paddington",

sang Canning, rather unkindly. And as the administration grew more Paddingtonian, it was felt that the tried pilot must be recalled. Pitt returned to power in 1804, and lived long enough to see the crowning victory of Trafalgar in October, 1805. But six weeks later Austerlitz made Napoleon supreme in Europe, and this victory, and the impeachment of his closest ally, Dundas Lord Melville, for malversation of funds,[1] broke down his already enfeebled health, and in January, 1806, he died.

Pitt's second ministry, 1804–6.

[1] A vote of censure on Melville preceded the impeachment. In the actual vote, the numbers were equal; but the speaker, after a silence of many minutes, gave his casting vote against Melville. There ensued a scene of wild exultation amongst Pitt's opponents. Pitt crushed his cocked hat over his brow to conceal the tears trickling down his cheeks; and his younger supporters, forming a screen round him, led him away from the House.

Pitt, in his relations with his colleagues and the members of his party, seems to have been cold and reserved; a good deal of marble, they complained, entered into his composition, and it required much effort on the part of an interviewer to produce even a momentary thaw. Yet few ministers have managed the House of Commons with greater skill than the younger Pitt, and his pre-eminence in that assembly was unquestioned. As an orator, though he lacked the inspiration of his father, he was extraordinarily facile; he had, a contemporary said, almost an unnatural dexterity in the combination of words, and his great rival, Fox, confessed that although he himself was never at a loss for words, Pitt always had at command the best words possible.

It has been urged against Pitt that he was jealous of able men, and preferred to be the one man of genius in a cabinet of commonplace men; indeed, his second ministry was composed of such feeble elements that the wits said it consisted merely of "William and Pitt". Nor had his administration been free from mistakes. He was not a perfect minister; but then, in Lord Rosebery's opinion, such monsters do not exist. Pitt, however, if not perfect, must be reckoned amongst the greatest of prime ministers. Honest and incorruptible himself, he, like his father, did much to raise the standard of morality in public life. Above all, it was his indomitable courage and self-confidence that enabled Great Britain to weather the storm that was caused by the French Revolution and by Napoleon. To the French Pitt was always the arch-enemy who had to be subdued, the real centre of opposition to their designs. That the French Assembly should in 1793 have solemnly declared Pitt to be "the enemy of the human race" is the greatest compliment they could have paid him. "England has saved herself", he said in his last speech, "by her exertions, and will, as I trust, save Europe by her example." That she had done the one and was to accomplish the other was perhaps as much due to William Pitt, with all his shortcomings in the conduct of the war, as it was to Nelson or to Wellington.[1]

[1] Canning's comment on Pitt is worth quoting: "Whether Pitt *will* save us, I do not know, but surely he is the only man that *can*." A distinguished French historian has said that Pitt was the only great adversary encountered by the French Revolution and by Napoleon.

To the ministries that followed Pitt's second administration only brief allusion must be made. To Pitt's ministry succeeded, in 1806, a ministry of "all the talents" on the Whig side, including Fox and Sheridan, the orator and playwright; whilst some Tories, such as Addington, were included in it; and Lord Grenville, George Grenville's youngest son, became prime minister.[1] Fox tried negotiations with Napoleon, and was soon obliged to confess that his belief in Napoleon's sincerity was not justified; shortly afterwards he died (1806). The ministers succeeded, to their everlasting credit, in passing an Act abolishing the slave trade, and then resigned in consequence of George III's opposition to Catholic emancipation. To this ministry followed two Tory ministries—the first under the *Duke of Portland*, in 1807; the second under *Spencer Perceval*, in 1809. Finally, in 1812, *Lord Liverpool*, another Tory, became prime minister, and kept his position for the next fifteen years. But up till 1815 the real interest in our history lies in the struggle with Napoleon, which has been narrated elsewhere, and which the ministers, despite great difficulties, carried on with dogged persistency. Whilst that war was going on, reforms at home were impossible.

Ministries of Grenville, 1806-7.

Duke of Portland, 1807-9.

Perceval, 1809-12, and Lord Liverpool, 1812-5.

Various other aspects of the period from 1714–1815 we have no space to survey. In art, Hogarth was the chief painter before 1760, and the second half of the eighteenth century is famous for the names of Reynolds, Gainsborough, and Romney. In literature, Pope was the conspicuous figure till his death in 1745. During the first half of George III's reign Samuel Johnson—made immortal by Boswell's *Life*—Gibbon, the author of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Goldsmith, Burke, and the poet Burns are perhaps the best known. The early poems of Wordsworth and Scott were written during the French Revolution, and those of Byron during the Napoleonic wars, whilst the first novels of Jane Austen and Scott appeared, the one in 1811, and the other in 1814.

Art and literature, 1714-1815.

[1] The Grenville family played a distinguished part during the reign of George III. George Grenville (d. 1770) was prime minister, 1763–5; his sister was the wife of the great Earl of Chatham (d. 1778) and the mother of the younger Pitt (d. 1806); and one of his sons was the Lord Grenville who now became prime minister.

XLII. History of Ireland, 1689-1815

We must now deal with the history of Ireland from the Revolution of 1688 until the battle of Waterloo. Its history during these one hundred and twenty-five years is in sad contrast to that of Scotland during the same period. How James landed in Ireland in 1689 and was finally beaten at the battle of the Boyne in 1690, and how after his departure his Roman Catholic supporters were gradually beaten back and capitulated at Limerick in 1691, has already been narrated (p. 434). But the Roman Catholics, under the terms of the *Capitulation of Limerick*, were promised two important concessions. First, those soldiers who chose were to be allowed to go to France, and a very large number left Ireland. Secondly, the Roman Catholics in Ireland were to have the same privileges as they possessed in the reign of Charles II. But this second condition was not observed. On the contrary, between 1697 and 1727, the Irish Parliament, in which by an English Act of Parliament only Protestants were allowed to sit, passed against the Roman Catholics, who composed four-fifths of the population, a series of laws, known as the *Penal Laws*, of the most vindictive character. A Roman Catholic was not allowed to have a vote, and was excluded from every imaginable office or profession from that of a lord chancellor to that of a gamekeeper. He could not be educated at a university, and he could not keep a school or be the guardian of a child; he could not marry a Protestant, was not allowed to buy land, and was even forbidden to possess a horse worth more than £5.[1] All Catholic bishops and deans were exiled, and subject to the penalties of high treason if they returned; all Catholic priests had to be registered, and to take an oath abjuring the son of James II. No Catholic chapel was allowed a bell or a steeple, and pilgrimages to holy wells were forbidden.

The Capitulation of Limerick, 1691, and the Penal Laws, 1697–1727.

Quite apart from the exclusion of the Roman Catholics from any share in the government of their country, the political con-

[1] A Protestant was at liberty to offer £5 for any horse belonging to a Roman Catholic, who was bound to accept the offer.

dition of Ireland stood in great need of reform. All laws passed in the Irish Parliament had still, under Poyning's Act of 1495, to receive the assent of the privy council in England, whilst the Parliament in England, in the reign of George I, arrogated to itself the right of passing laws binding upon Ireland. It must be remembered also that the Irish Parliament had practically no control over the officials who governed Ireland, these being appointed and supervised by the Government in England, and it was an additional grievance that the highest of these officials were almost invariably Englishmen. The viceroys were Englishmen, often spending four-fifths of their time in England; the Protestant bishops were nearly all Englishmen, and some of them never came to Ireland at all;[1] and only one Irishman in the whole course of the eighteenth century was made lord chancellor.

Political condition of Ireland.

The Irish Parliament itself needed drastic reformation; half the members of its House of Lords were Protestant bishops, whilst over two-thirds of the members of its House of Commons were nominated by individuals, no less than sixty seats belonging to three families; and, as has already been pointed out, no Roman Catholic could vote at an election or sit in either House of Parliament. Moreover, till past the middle of the eighteenth century, there was no fixed term for the duration of a parliament. Consequently a parliament lasted for an indefinite period, and one existed in the eighteenth century for over thirty years.

The Irish Parliament.

Even worse perhaps than the political was the economic condition of Ireland. That island is naturally a great pasturing country; its cattle and its wool were at one time the best in Europe. It might have become a great manufacturing country as well. But the selfishness of English farmers and manufacturers stifled its enterprise. The English Parliament had already, in Charles II's reign, forbidden the importation into England of cattle, sheep, and swine, alive or dead.

Economic condition of Ireland.

[1] One divine held the bishopric of Down for twenty years; he never went near it during the whole of that time, but lived at Hammersmith. Of two bishops appointed at the same time in the eighteenth century, it is said that one sent down to his diocese twenty-two cart-loads of books and one hogshead of wine; the other, however, was content with one load of books, but dispatched to his palace twenty-two hogsheads of wine.

It proceeded, in William III's reign, to prohibit altogether the exportation of Irish woollen manufactures, and to confine the export of Irish unmanufactured wool to England alone, where the wool had to pay heavy import duties.[1] Irish industries were thus ruined. But this does not exhaust the evils from which Ireland suffered. As a consequence of the Irish support to James II, a great deal of land had been confiscated, and it is reckoned that, after the Revolution, three-fourths of it belonged to owners of British descent. A large number of these owners lived in England in the eighteenth century, and let their land to people called "middlemen", who often rackrented and exploited the smaller tenants to whom they sublet. The wretched Irish peasant, paying rent to a middleman, tithes to the Protestant clergyman, and dues to his Roman Catholic priest, had in some cases, it was said, "hardly the skin of a potato to subsist upon".

Such were the conditions of Ireland in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, and they all combined to degrade and to debase the great mass of the population and to make the country a most unhappy one. The more energetic and ambitious Irishmen, indeed, left their own country to pursue their fortunes elsewhere. Spain, for instance, possessed five Irish regiments, and within a hundred years a quarter of a million Irishmen, it is said, joined the Irish Brigade in France. It was that brigade which took the chief share in defeating the British at Almanza and at Fontenoy, and which caused, so tradition says, George II to say at Dettingen, "Curse on the laws which deprive me of such men." To Austria Ireland supplied some of her best generals, and to Russia two field-marshals,[2] whilst Coote's opponent at the hard-fought battle of Wandewash was of Irish extraction.

Irish emigration.

We must now see how the conditions in Ireland were

[1] It is true that after 1743 the British government encouraged the flax and linen industry at Belfast; but that was inadequate compensation.

[2] One of these was the famous Peter Lacy. He began his martial career at the age of thirteen, fighting in defence of Limerick. Subsequently he entered the Russian service, and fought against Danes, Swedes, and Turks, and he finally became Governor of Livonia. He is credited with having converted the Russian troops from the worst troops in Europe to some of the best, and a division of the Russian army is still called after him.

gradually improved during the later portion of the eighteenth century. In the first place, it was found impossible in practice to carry out the laws imposing restrictions on the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, and even before the middle of the century these laws were to all intents and purposes obsolete. The American War of Independence brought further relief to the Catholics; for the British Government, anxious to conciliate opinion in Ireland, encouraged the Irish Parliament to repeal the laws prohibiting Roman Catholics from buying land (1778), and before the war was over other concessions followed.

Relaxation of Penal Laws, 1778–82.

But the American War of Independence had more important effects even than this. It brought up the whole question of the relations of Great Britain to her dependencies—and Ireland might almost be called a dependency, and in some ways was much worse off than the American colonies. Above all, it gave Ireland an opportunity of pressing her claims in a way that could not be resisted. During the later stages of the war, Great Britain, hard pressed by her foes in every part of the world, had to withdraw the bulk of the troops from Ireland. The country was in imminent danger of an invasion from France; and was indeed, at one period, in "daily, almost hourly expectation of it". Quite spontaneously, Irishmen, of all creeds and classes, organized themselves into volunteers for the protection of their country from a French invasion. Nearly all the landed gentry became volunteers, the Duke of Leinster, for instance, commanding the Dublin contingent. Volunteer rank was given precedence in society, and great sacrifices were made to supply a sufficiency of funds. The movement was entirely independent of the Government, who indeed regarded it, and with reason, with considerable apprehension. For the volunteers, when they realized their power, began, like Cromwell's Ironsides, to interfere in politics, and demanded an independent Parliament and the abolition of the restrictions upon Irish industries;[1] "England", as an Irish orator said, "had sown her laws in dragons'

Abolition of Commercial Code (1780), and creation of independent Parliament (1782).

[1] The uniforms of the volunteers—scarlet, green, blue, and orange—were all manufactured in Ireland so as to encourage home industries.

teeth, and they had sprung up armed men". Moreover, in Henry Grattan Ireland had found a parliamentary leader of exceptional ability and force of character, who directed the movement in the Irish Parliament with great distinction. The British Parliament was powerless to resist. In 1780 the restrictions on Irish trade and industries were abolished. Two years later, in 1782, Ireland obtained her legislative independence, Poyning's Act being repealed and the British Parliament giving up the right to pass laws binding upon Ireland.

Between 1778 and 1782, therefore, some of the chief grievances of Ireland had been redressed. The officials in Dublin Castle now thought that reform had gone quite far enough, and were strongly hostile to any more concessions. A body of moderate reformers, on the other hand, thought still further changes were necessary. Their leader was *Henry Grattan*, perhaps the greatest of Irish orators. Born in 1746, and educated at Trinity College, Dublin, he had been nominated a member of the Irish House of Commons in 1775.[1] He had quickly become its foremost member, and was the great champion of the independence of the Irish Parliament, that parliament showing its gratitude by voting him a grant of £50,000. Grattan's policy after 1782, may be briefly summarized. He was a strong supporter of complete Catholic emancipation: "the Irish Protestant", he said, "can never be free whilst the Catholic is a slave". He ardently supported the reform of the worst abuses in the Irish parliamentary system. But he was no believer in democratic government or in universal suffrage. "I want", he said, "to combat the wild spirit of democratic liberty by the regulated spirit of organized liberty." Above all, he saw the necessity of preserving the connection between Great Britain and Ireland, and was of opinion that Ireland should give Great Britain "decided and unequivocal support in time of war". To Grattan's powers of speech all bear witness; indeed, it has been said of Grattan that no British orator, except Chatham, had an equal

Henry Grattan.

[1] When a young man Grattan was fond of going out late on moonlight nights and soliloquizing aloud. On one occasion at midnight he was apostrophizing a gibbet in Windsor forest, when suddenly he felt a tap on the shoulder, and a man, presumably of a somewhat unprepossessing appearance, said to him, "How the devil did you get down?" "Sir," replied Grattan quite unalarmed, "I suppose you have some interest in that question."

power of inspiring a nation, and that no British orator, except Burke, had an equal power of sowing his speeches with profound maxims of political wisdom.[1]

Effect of French Revolution.

The *French Revolution*, like the American War of Independence, had a profound influence upon Ireland. It had proclaimed the equality of men; it had abolished religious disqualifications; it had destroyed the old tithe system; and had organized government on a democratic basis. The Roman Catholic who wanted emancipation and the Presbyterian who wanted parliamentary reform alike applauded the Revolution as the dawn of a golden age for Ireland as well; and in 1791 the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille was celebrated with rapturous rejoicings. The French Revolution also led to the formation of an extreme party in Ireland with which Grattan found himself in little sympathy. Its leader was *Wolfe Tone*. He succeeded in persuading the Presbyterians in Ulster and the Roman Catholics elsewhere to support each other's demands and to combine in an organization called the "*United Irishmen*"[2] (1792). The organization became very popular and had an enormous membership. Pitt felt that some concession must be made, and overruled the objections of the officials in Ireland; and, owing to his influence, a bill was passed through the Irish Parliament in 1793 which, among other things, allowed the Roman Catholics to have votes, though they were still excluded from sitting in Parliament. This was one of those half-measures which was bound to lead to further agitation and difficulty.

The Fitzwilliam episode, 1795.

In 1795 there occurred an incident which was destined to have great effect upon Irish history. A section of the Whigs in Great Britain had, in consequence of the war with France, joined Pitt's party (p. 572). In the distribution of offices a Whig called *Lord Fitzwilliam* was made Viceroy of Ireland. He himself was in agreement with

[1] He had a bad delivery, however. It was said that he nearly swept the ground with his gestures, and Lord Byron, the poet, spoke of his "harlequin manner".

[2] "To subvert the tyranny of our execrable government," wrote Wolfe Tone, "to break the connection with England, the never-failing source of all our political evils, and to assert the independence of my country—these were my objects. To unite the whole people of Ireland, to abolish the memory of its past dissensions, and to substitute the common name of Irishmen in place of the denominations of protestants, catholics, and dissenters—these were my means."

Grattan, and was in favour of granting the Roman Catholics full emancipation and of allowing them to sit in Parliament. Very soon after his arrival he announced his intention of bringing this proposal before the Irish Parliament. The instructions that he received from Pitt before he left England were certainly not intended to allow him to do this. They may, however, have been open to misinterpretation, and there is no doubt that Pitt's Government was extremely dilatory in answering Fitzwilliam's dispatches from Ireland, dispatches which advocated the policy of immediate emancipation as the only possible solution of Irish difficulties. Fitzwilliam's policy aroused intense opposition from some of the ultra-Protestants and the officials in Ireland; finally it was disavowed by Pitt's ministry and its author recalled.

Fitzwilliam's proposal and consequent recall mark, it has been said, a fatal turning-point in Irish history. The "United Irishmen" developed into a secret and treasonable society, composed almost entirely of Roman Catholics, and working for the total separation of Great Britain and Ireland. Their intrigues with the French resulted in Hoche's expedition to Bantry Bay in 1796, which—fortunately for Great Britain—failed (p. 526). Moreover, the atrocities of the United Irishmen on those who opposed them embittered the feeling of the more extreme Protestants, and led to the formation of the "*Orangemen*", who retaliated by showing great cruelty to the Roman Catholics. Finally, the condition of Ireland became so alarming that in 1797 orders were given for the disarmament of Ulster; and soldiers, of whom the Welsh and Germans acquired the worst reputation for their inhuman brutality, marched over the country, breaking into houses, and intimidating and sometimes torturing persons to make them give up their hidden arms.[1]

[1] It was not only in Ulster that the search for arms took place. The High Sheriff of Tipperary, Thomas FitzGerald, achieved an unenviable notoriety through the brutality of his methods, especially in the case of a harmless teacher of French called Wright. FitzGerald suspected him of being secretary to the United Irishmen in Tipperary, and ordered him to be flogged and then shot. When fifty lashes had been administered, an officer present asked the reason for the flogging. The High Sheriff, in reply, handed him a note written in French which had been found in Wright's possession, and said that though he could not understand the language, the officer would find in it "what will justify him in flogging the scoundrel to death". The officer, who could read French, found the note perfectly innocuous, and told FitzGerald—nevertheless FitzGerald did not stop the flogging, but ordered Wright to have one hundred more lashes, and then threw him into prison.

In 1798 came the *Irish Rebellion.* The leaders of the rebellion had as their ostensible objects Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform. But the peasants who joined in the Rebellion did so, for the most part, for other reasons. They felt the grievance of the payment of tithe very acutely. They had been led to believe, partly through old prophecies, that the time had come for Ireland to retrieve her nationality and to separate from Great Britain. And, above all, they thought, as in 1641, that the Protestants were trying to exterminate them and their religion, and they rose to protect their own lives.[1] The Rebellion, however, did not prove a formidable affair. Ulster had been effectually disarmed, and was still subject to the severe exercise of martial law. The leaders of the Irish Catholics, including a heroic figure in Lord Edward Fitzgerald, had been seized shortly before the Rebellion broke out.[2] Moreover, though some French soldiers landed, they arrived too late to be of any service and had to retire. Consequently the Rebellion only affected two counties, Wicklow and Wexford, and it lasted little more than a month, the rebels being defeated at *New Ross* and *Vinegar Hill.*

The Irish Rebellion, 1798.

After the Rebellion was over, Pitt felt that the only way to preserve the connection of Ireland with Great Britain, and to secure any harmony between Roman Catholics and Protestants in Ireland itself, was by means of a Union between Great Britain and Ireland, similar to that between England and Scotland. Irish opinion was, however, against such a union. But lavish promises of peerages and honours—forty-one persons were either created peers or raised a step in the peerage—and very generous money compensation to those in-

The Union, 1800.

[1] It was popularly believed that the secret oath taken by an Orangeman was: "I will be true to the king and government, and I will exterminate, as far as I am able, the Catholics of Ireland".

[2] Lord Edward FitzGerald was one of the seventeen children of the first Duke of Leinster. He served in the American War of Independence and was severely wounded, his life only being saved by a negro, who afterwards became his devoted servant. Subsequently FitzGerald was in Paris during part of the Revolution, attended the debates of the Convention Assembly, and was imbued with revolutionary ideas. He joined the United Irishmen on his return, and was one of the organizers of the rebellion. A price was put on his head by the government, and through treachery he was seized in a feather-dealer's house in Dublin. He killed one of his captors, but was himself severely wounded, and died shortly afterwards in prison.

dividuals who held "pocket boroughs",[1] won over part of the opposition. Moreover, though no explicit promise was made, the Roman Catholics were given to understand by the Government that Catholic emancipation would form a sequel to the passing of the Union. With the opposition thus, to some extent, conciliated, the *Act of Union*, despite Grattan's speeches against it, was finally passed through the Irish Parliament in 1800. By its terms four Irish bishops and twenty-eight peers, who were to be elected for life by the whole body of Irish peers, were to sit in the House of Lords, whilst Ireland was to contribute a hundred members to the House of Commons. Ireland was to keep her separate judicial system and her separate executive—dependent, of course, upon the British ministry. There was to be absolute free trade between Ireland and Great Britain, and Ireland was to contribute two-seventeenths to the revenue of the United Kingdom.

Thus ended the Irish Independent Parliament after an existence of eighteen years. It had possessed some able speakers and statesmen; it had passed some useful laws; and, on the whole, considering the difficulties which it had to meet, it was not unsuccessful. The understanding about Catholic emancipation came, unfortunately, to nothing. George III became firmly convinced that the grant of such emancipation would be contrary to his coronation oath, and would not agree to it, and Pitt consequently resigned office in 1801.[2] Our period consequently ends with Catholic emancipation still unsecured, with the Irish land question still unsolved, and the Irish consequently remaining a dissatisfied nation.

[1] Over £1,250,000 was expended in this fashion, and two peers received £52,000 and £45,000 respectively for their boroughs.

[2] It is reported that the king read the Coronation Oath to his family and said, "If I violate it I am no longer legal sovereign of this country, but it falls to the House of Savoy."

XLIII. The Industrial Revolution and Social Progress, 1750–1909

The progress of science.

If the seventeenth century is chiefly important in English history for the struggle of King and Parliament, and if the eighteenth century derives its chief interest from the great wars between Great Britain and France, the last hundred years of our history are remarkable, above all else, for the development of science. What has been called the modern alliance between pure science and industry has wrought a revolution in our methods of life. "If in the last hundred years", says a distinguished statesman, "the whole material setting of civilized life has altered, we owe it neither to politicians nor to political institutions. We owe it to the combined efforts of those who have advanced science and those who have applied it." The beginning of these great scientific changes came, however, in the second half of the eighteenth century, and, in order to preserve the same divisions as in political history, we may make *1815* the dividing line between two periods.

1. The Industrial Revolution (before 1815)

Agriculture.

The first of our industries perhaps to be affected by the scientific spirit was our oldest—that of agriculture. Up till the eighteenth century arable land had, in most districts, been treated as in the Middle Ages; it was sown with corn for two years and then left fallow for a year in order to recuperate its fertility. The discovery was, however, made that by the cultivation of roots, the recuperative advantages of a bare fallow might be secured without the loss of a year's crop. Moreover, the roots both gave the opportunity for clearing the soil and provided food for the cattle and sheep during the winter.[2] Consequently there was more manure, and the fertility of the land was correspondingly increased. Tradition says that "*Turnip*" *Townshend*, George I's minister, was the first to realize the impor-

tance of this discovery, and to develop on his Norfolk estates a four-year rotation of crops (e.g. wheat, some form of roots, barley, a mixture of clover and some form of grasses), never taking two successive corn crops off the same land; and this principle of rotation was generally adopted in the latter part of the eighteenth century in most parts of England.[1]

Moreover, the scientific breeding of live stock, especially by *Bakewell*,[3] the developer of the famous Leicestershire breed of sheep, produced such changes that by 1800 the average weight of sheep was nearly three times and of cattle more than twice what it was at the beginning of the eighteenth century. New forms of manure for the land, new artificial foods for stock, were also discovered. The institution at the end of the century of the *Smithfield Club* for the encouragement of stock breeding, and of a new government department, the Board of Agriculture, are significant of the great interest taken in agriculture, an interest shared by George III himself, who started the model farm at Windsor, and wrote articles in agricultural newspapers.

The breeding of stock.

These were not the only great changes that took place in agricultural conditions in this period. Waste lands were reclaimed and made productive by enterprising landowners. Large farms were substituted for small farms in many districts. Above all, an enormous amount of common land and open fields—no less than seven million acres in George III's reign alone—was enclosed by individuals, chiefly of course the neighbouring landowners, through Acts of Parliament. At the same time more capital was expended on the land, more improvements were introduced, and the enclosed land was made far more productive—it has been estimated that its produce multiplied at least fivefold. But these changes led to the decay,

Enclosures of common land.

[1] There is a story that an archdeacon took a rector to task for growing turnips in a churchyard. "This must not occur again," he said. "Oh no, sir, next year it will be barley!" was the reply of the unrepentant rector.

[2] Formerly the bulk of the stock, except that required for breeding purposes, was killed about Martinmas.

[3] He was born in 1725 and died in 1794. People used to come from all over the world to see his bull "Twopenny" and his ram "Two-pounder"; and in his kitchen he would entertain "Russian princes, French and German royal dukes, British peers, and sightseers of every description".

and even to the disappearance, in many parts of England of the yeoman class and of the small farmers. They found in many districts increased difficulty in obtaining a livelihood owing to the enclosure of the common lands on which they used to feed their stock, and, moreover, they were often tempted by good offers to sell their land.[1] Many of them sank into the position of labourers, and their condition during the earlier part of the nineteenth century was deplorable.

As regards manufactures, it is in the *Cotton Industry* that the most wonderful developments occur in this period, owing to inventions in both the spinning and the weaving of cotton. The first invention occurred in weaving; for in 1738 John Kay invented a shuttle which could be thrown mechanically from one side of the loom to the other. After this flying-shuttle came into use, the spinners had not enough yarn to supply to the weavers; but then came other inventions which revolutionized the spinning industry. Hitherto, one person could only look after one spindle; but in 1764 Hargreaves contrived a wheel which turned sixteen spindles—called, in honour of his wife's name, a "Spinning Jenny". Five years later, in 1769, Arkwright developed a process of spinning by rollers through water power. Finally Crompton by his "Mule" combined in his machine the principle of both these inventions. Consequently, one person could by the end of the century supervise hundreds of spindles. It was now time for a fresh development in weaving; and in 1785 Cartwright, a poet and a clergyman, despite the statement of manufacturers that it was impossible, set to work to make an improved weaving machine, and after three years found his efforts crowned with success in the *power-loom* which he invented.[2]

The cotton industry.

Hardly less remarkable than the development of the cotton

[1] Recent researches show that up till 1785 the number of small owners or yeomen steadily declined; but from 1785–1802 there actually seems to have been an increase in their number, except in those districts where the rapid growth of manufactories led people to migrate to the towns.

[2] Some conception of the magnitude of the changes effected by these and other inventions may be obtained by statistics. In 1750 only some forty thousand men were engaged in cotton industries; in 1831 over eight hundred thousand were occupied. And whereas in 1750 under three million pounds of cotton wool were imported, one hundred million pounds were imported in 1815, and nearly two thousand million pounds in 1906.

industry was that of *iron*. Hitherto iron had been smelted by charcoal, and as the forests decreased the price of fuel rose. But in the eighteenth century, chiefly through an improved blast invented in the year of George III's accession (1760), coke and coal began to be used in place of charcoal; and this placed the unlimited resources of the British coalfields at the disposal of the ironmasters. Other inventions followed, such as new methods of rolling and puddling iron—due to *Henry Cort*—and before the end of the century great ironworks had arisen in various districts. The "age of iron" had come; and in 1777 the first iron bridge was made, and in 1790 the first iron vessel launched.

Iron.

Other manufactures besides that of cotton and iron were also developed, such as that of earthenware, owing largely to Josiah Wedgwood. The utilization of a new power—that of *steam*—is, however, far the most important feature in the period before 1815. The power of steam had been recognized some time before, but it was left to *Watt*[1]—a mathematical-instrument maker of Greenock—to produce in 1769 the first efficient steam engine. At first the steam engine had only a vertical motion, and was used chiefly for drawing up water; later, however, was discovered the possibility of a rotatory and parallel motion, and steam power could then be utilized in manufactories. The last four years of our period saw still further developments. The first steamer, the *Comet*, sailed down the Clyde in the year of Napoleon's Russian campaign (1812). The first locomotive engine was invented by *Stephenson* two years later. And the year of Waterloo (1815) saw the invention by Humphry Davy of the safety lamp for the use of the miners without whose labour the employment of steam power would have been impossible.

Steam power.

Though the railway and the steamer really belong to the era after 1815, yet the period anterior to that date saw great improvements in the methods of communication. The canal, invented, like so many other things, originally by the Chinese, was introduced into England in

Means of communication: Canals.

[1] According to Sir Walter Scott, who saw him in old age, Watt was not only one of the most generally well-informed, but one of the best and kindest of human beings, who, in his eighty-fifth year, had "his attention alive to everyone's question, his information at everyone's command".

1759. A canal made by *Brindley*[1] for the Duke of Bridgewater, from the Worsley collieries to Manchester, at once halved the price of coal in that city, and led to such a development in the building of canals, that by the end of the eighteenth century London, Bristol, Liverpool, and Hull were connected by water, as well as the Forth and the Clyde. Early in the next century no place south of Durham, so it was said, was more than fifteen miles distant from water conveyance.

Roads.

In the earlier part of the eighteenth century the roads had been indescribably bad. One contemporary measured ruts a foot deep in one of the most important roads in the north, and found some roads in Sussex which a wet winter would make impassable even during the following summer, whilst in Scotland wheeled traffic on the roads was impossible. In the second half of the century, however, the roads in Great Britain were vastly improved, and just before the end of the period—in 1811—*John Macadam* reported to Parliament the new method of making roads which has made his name so familiar. The stage coach had been introduced as early as 1640; but in 1784 a man named *Palmer* introduced new mail coaches for passengers and mails which went with far greater regularity and swiftness than their predecessors.

The industrial revolution.

New methods in agriculture, new inventions in manufactures, improved means of communication, all had their share in developing the prosperity of Great Britain, and in justifying the name usually applied to this period in our economic history, that of the "Industrial Revolution". The influence of the great wars, however, in developing our commerce must not be forgotten. "War fosters commerce, and commerce fosters war", is the dictum of a distinguished historian; and though this may not apply to the modern world, the saying was true at this time of our own country, which was never invaded. In every war our imports and exports increased; and, above all, there was an immense extension of our merchant shipping, which was to become, in the nineteenth century, our most important industry.

[1] In the course of his life Brindley built as many miles of canals as there are days in the year, i.e. 365. He did most of his work in his head, as he wrote with difficulty, and never spelt with any approach to correctness. When he had a very puzzling piece of work, he went to bed and stayed there till his difficulties were solved.

The development of commerce was especially striking during the wars between 1793 and 1815. British shippers had the monopoly of the carrying trade; because under no other European flag were goods even moderately safe. British manufacturers were encouraged by the needs of war and by the practical suspension of manufactures in many parts of the Continent. British farmers, secure from foreign competition, obtained high prices for their corn. Great Britain indeed obtained during these years a lead which she was not to lose for some time.

2. Scientific Progress after 1815

We turn to the second of our two periods—from 1815 to the early years of the twentieth century. There is, to begin with, the revolution in the ways and methods of communication through the development of steam and the introduction of electrical power — changes which dwarf those effected by the canals and by better roads in the previous century. First and foremost came the introduction of railways. The locomotive engine had already been invented in 1814 by *Stephenson*, but it could only convey coals—for which purpose it was used—at three miles an hour. The first railway of any length had been projected in 1818, but the proposal had been thrown out in Parliament.[1] However, in 1821 the Stockton and Darlington Railway was authorized, and four years later opened for traffic, whilst in 1827 came the first use of the locomotive on rails in Scotland. But not much attention was attracted before the building of the *Liverpool and Manchester Railway*. Public interest in this was first stirred by the difficulties met with in the construction of the line; then by a race between four different kinds of locomotives, in which Stephenson's "Rocket", going at the finish at thirty-five miles an hour, was successful; and finally by the opening of the line in 1829 in the presence of the Duke of Wellington, the prime minister[2]. Fifteen years later, in

Means of communication.

Railways.

[1] Partly because it threatened to pass near a duke's fox coverts.

[2] The opening was marred by a sad accident. An ex-cabinet minister, Huskisson, who had quarrelled with Wellington, was present. He advanced to speak to the Duke and effect a reconciliation, when an engine approached along the rails on which he was standing. Huskisson was rather clumsy, failed to get into a carriage on the other line, and was caught by the engine.

1844, came the great railway mania in Great Britain, when numerous railway companies were started and an immense extension of line laid down. By 1850 nearly all the big lines had been established.[1]

One or two other points may be noticed. Queen Victoria made her first journey by railway in 1842. The Cheap Trains Act, which came into force in 1846, laid down that one train must run daily each way along every line, carrying passengers at one penny per mile. The railways, forced in this way to do more for the third-class passengers, soon found that they paid best of all, and in 1872 the Midland Railway allowed third-class passengers on all trains—an example which was soon followed by nearly all the big lines.[2]

Hardly less important than the development of railways was the development of steamships. The steamer had preceded the locomotive, but some little time elapsed before steamers came into great use. The first passage across the Atlantic by steam power alone was accomplished in 1838 by the *Great Western* in fourteen days at an average pace of just over eight knots; and within two years of this date the Royal Mail Steam Packet, the Peninsular and Oriental, and the Cunard Companies had been started. Every year has seen the development of steam power in navigation. The total tonnage of steam vessels of the United Kingdom in 1841 was only one-thirtieth that of the sailing fleet, and before the Suez Canal was opened in 1872 the quickest passages from China in connection with the tea trade were still done by sailing ships. But by 1883 the steam tonnage equalled the sailing tonnage, whilst at the end of Queen Victoria's reign it was four times as great. The advent of motor cars and flying machines shows that new possibilities of travelling are being developed, the results of which no man can foretell.

Steamships.

The increased facilities of communication may be realized by

[1] With the exception of Chatham and Dover (1860), the Midland (1863), and the Highland Railway (1865).

[2] Some statistics may be worth quoting. In 1845, the year before the Cheap Trains Act, the mileage of lines was 2441; in 1909 it was over 23,000. In 1845 over thirty-three million passengers were carried, in 1909 one thousand two hundred and sixty-five million; or, put in another way, whilst the railway information of Bradshaw's Railway Guide two years after Queen Victoria's accession (1839) was comfortably included in some half-dozen pages, the information seventy years later demands over nine hundred.

a few illustrations. A journey from London to Edinburgh in the earlier part of the eighteenth century might take anything from ten days to three weeks; it can now be accomplished in seven hours. It took the Duke of Wellington, in 1804, six months to return home from India; now a traveller from London can reach Bombay in just over thirteen days, and an important event which happened at Calcutta at sunset might be known in London, owing to the difference of longitude, by noon on the same day. In the time of the American War of Independence it took some six weeks to reach America; the latest record is well under five days. There is no need to multiply these illustrations; it is sufficient to say that it is as easy to get to the most distant parts of the world now as it was a hundred years ago to get to the most distant parts of Europe. Some illustrations.

Vast changes, again, in the Post Office have improved the means of communication. The conveyance of letters, organized first in the reign of Charles I, had become a Government monopoly, and their delivery had been made quicker and more frequent by the employment, towards the close of the eighteenth century, of Palmer's mail coaches. But expense and delay were still characteristic of the Post Office system at the time of Queen Victoria's accession. The charge for letters, for instance, from London to Windsor was 5*d.*; from London to Cambridge, 8*d.*; and from London to Durham, 1*s.* Letters could not be posted after seven o'clock at night, and their delivery was exceedingly slow.[1] The reforms made were due, above all, to *Rowland Hill.* He proved that the expense of a letter did not vary appreciably with the distance it was carried, and owing to his efforts the penny postage was at last introduced in 1840. The postmaster-general of the day opposed the change on the ground that, if it was made, the Post Office might have to convey not forty-two millions (as they then did), but eight hundred and forty millions of letters annually—a number which would burst the walls of the Post Office. That particular number was, however, exceeded threefold some forty years later, and some faint idea The Post Office.

[1] A letter written after 7 p.m. on a Friday night at Uxbridge, and posted at the earliest available moment, would not have reached Gravesend, distant only forty miles, before Tuesday morning.

of the volume of business may be gathered from the fact that the total weight of the stamps issued in 1907 was only just under 200 tons.[1] The delivery of letters has been, of course, enormously simplified and accelerated by the development of railways and steamers.

The *telegraph* and the *telephone* also assisted to revolutionize our means of communication. The first telegraph line was laid in 1844 from Paddington to Slough, and the capture of a murderer at the latter place by means of a telegram first drew popular attention to its possibilities. The telegraph line once laid in England, the next step was to lay cables to foreign countries; that to Calais was laid in 1851, and after many failures a cable, weighing 4300 tons, was at length, in 1865, laid across the Atlantic. At the present time all parts of the world are connected by cables, and no less than sixteen are laid from Europe to North America. Telephones followed in 1876, and have gradually been developed since that time. And we have yet to see the effects of wireless telegraphy, the possibility of which was first realized by *Marconi*.

The telegraph.

Telephones.

Lastly, we must say something of not the least important element in our improved means of communication—the modern newspaper. The first regular newspaper appeared as early as the latter part of James I's reign. But it was not till the reign of Anne that the first daily London newspaper appeared, or that really able people like Defoe and Swift employed their pens as journalists. Steadily during the eighteenth century the influence and circulation of newspapers increased.[2] But in 1815 the newspapers were subject to heavy taxes. The stamp duty on each copy of a newspaper was 4*d*., the paper on which the newspapers were printed was taxed, and 10 per cent of the profits went in income tax, whilst in addition there was a special tax on advertisements. Moreover, the application of steam for printing had only just begun, and the methods of production were slow and costly. Consequently, the price of a newspaper

Newspapers.

[1] Or, put in another way, whilst every person received on the average only four letters a year at Queen Victoria's accession, each person on the average now receives sixty.

[2] Of papers which survive at the present time, the *Morning Post* came into existence three years before the beginning (1772), and the *Times* two years after the close, of the American War of Independence (1785).

was *7d.*, and there were only six daily newspapers published in London.

These various duties have been gradually taken off. The use of steam and electricity has enabled webs of paper miles long to be converted into thousands of copies of newspapers in an hour. Newspapers to-day have their own special wires to Paris and Berlin, and their special correspondents all over the world, whilst the editors—such as Delane of the *Times* in the middle of the nineteenth century—have exerted enormous influence on public opinion, and often on the conduct of public affairs.[1]

We have already alluded to the changes effected in agriculture and the cotton industry in the eighteenth century, and we have no space to enter in detail into the revolutions effected in every industry during the nineteenth century by an infinite variety of inventions and the development of machinery worked by steam and electricity. Nor can we do more than allude to other discoveries and inventions which have expanded our interests, like photography, or increased our knowledge, like the spectroscope, or saved us time in writing and reading letters, like the typewriter. Other inventions have increased the conveniences of life, such, for instance, as the use of gas[2], and later of electricity; or the invention of a new burner for lamps, or of phosphorus matches, the one a few years before and the other a few years after Queen Victoria's accession. Nor can we do more than allude to the wonderful developments of medical science. Of these the most striking, perhaps, are the introduction of *anæsthetics* about 1848, which made the most severe operations painless, and the use, in 1865, of *antiseptics*, which, it is calculated, has reduced the deaths from serious amputations from 45 per cent to some 12 per cent, besides rendering possible numberless operations never before attempted. Nor can we dwell here on the revolutions in scientific thought due, for instance, to the doctrine of the conservation of energy, and above all to the theory of natural selection propounded by Darwin in 1859 in

Discoveries of the nineteenth century.

[1] The fact that the circulation at the present time of the most popular daily newspaper exceeds in thirty days the aggregate circulation of all the newspapers for the 365 days of 1821, shows how enormously their sale has increased.

[2] It was first made popular by the successful lighting of Westminster Bridge in the year of Vittoria (1813).

the *Origin of Species*—a theory which has profoundly affected man's speculations in every domain of thought.

3. Social Progress in the Nineteenth Century

Having briefly reviewed the revolution effected by science in trade and industry, we must mention some of its momentous results. First, and most striking, is the growth in population which is, to some extent at all events, the result of the industrial revolution. Previously the growth had been slow. The population of England and Wales, which was estimated to have been in 1570 about four and a quarter millions, took more than two centuries to double itself. But with the close of the eighteenth century came a rapid increase. The population of the *United Kingdom* has risen from fourteen millions in 1789 to forty-five millions in 1911, the development being greatest in England and Wales, where the population during this period has almost quadrupled.

Results of scientific progress.

Growth in population.

Moreover, not only has the population increased, but the centres of population have shifted from the south to the north. Bristol and Norwich had been in old days next in importance to London; but the growth of cities such as Liverpool and Manchester was startling in its rapidity, and the north, owing partly to the contiguity of coal mines and iron, and partly to the suitability of the Lancashire climate for cotton manufactures, has become the great industrial and progressive part of the nation. Then, again, the population has shifted from the country to the town. In the old days the great mass of the nation had been occupied in agriculture. But the land was unable to support more labour. Indeed, of late years the combined effects of machinery and of the substitution of pasture for arable[1] have been to lessen rather than increase the demand for labour on the land, whilst the higher wages and greater excitements of the town have made the supply of labour hardly adequate even for the lessened demand. The chief reason, however, of the influx into the towns is that the *factory system*, under which

Centres of population.

Influx into the towns.

[1] Due chiefly to the fact that the growing of corn, owing to American competition, has since 1878 ceased in many districts to be profitable.

numbers of people are employed in large manufactories, has displaced the old *domestic system*, under which men worked in their own cottages or in the house of a small master. It is true that even as late as the "'forties" and "'fifties" of the nineteenth century many industries were in the hands of domestic workers or very small masters, but the development of machinery and of steam and electric power has made their eventual disappearance inevitable.

At the present time over three-quarters of the nation are town-dwellers. What the ultimate effect of this change on the nation will be has yet to be seen; but some prophesy as a result stunted bodies and shallow and excitable minds. As to the conditions of the towns, it may be said that, though often deplorable enough now, they used to be much worse. The corporations which used to govern them were inefficient and corrupt. Housing was scandalously insufficient and often squalid.[1] Gradually the conditions have improved. The Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 helped to reform the government of towns. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, and of late years to an immensely increasing extent, municipalities have taken in hand, on the whole with advantage to their towns, the supply of such things as gas, water, tramways, and baths, and even attempted to deal with the housing problem under an Act passed in 1891.

Town life.

Not only has there been a great increase of population, but an even greater increase of wealth. It has been reckoned that the aggregate wealth of the United Kingdom, which at the beginning of the nineteenth century was £2,000,000,000, was at the beginning of the twentieth £15,000,000,000.[2] Not only have great manufacturers, "Captains of Industry", arisen and made large fortunes, but there has been a striking increase in the numbers and prosperity of the middle and lower middle classes. To most of the labouring classes the factory system has in the long run meant greater regularity of work, bigger wages, better organization, and far less waste of human effort, and it has

Increase of wealth.

[1] It was reckoned that in the year of Queen Victoria's accession one-tenth of the population of Manchester and one-seventh of that of Liverpool lived in cellars, whilst in Bethnal Green, which was fairly thickly populated, there was not one sewer.

[2] The imports per head of the population, which were in 1820 £1, 5*s.*, have risen to £14 in 1909, and the exports per head during the same period have risen from £2, 1*s.* to £10, 9*s.*

employed a far greater number than was possible under the old system. Moreover, the ease of communication, and the enormous increase in the output and variety of manufactured goods and their infinitely greater cheapness, have enabled the many to enjoy comforts and conveniences that hitherto only the few had been privileged to possess.

Yet the new conditions have brought in their train great evils, the mitigation of which has been—since the Reform Bill of 1832—one of the chief occupations of Parliament. We have already alluded to the conditions of the towns. The new factory system, again, led—perhaps inevitably at first—to grave abuses. The factories were often unwholesome and insanitary; there was no *maximum* of working hours, no *minimum* of ventilation or cleanliness, no adequate precautions against dangerous machinery or unhealthy trades demanded by the State. Most horrible of all, perhaps, was the employment of children, who at an early age were sent in thousands by workhouses, charitable institutions, or by their parents to work long hours under the most depressing conditions. A committee appointed as late as 1840 found in manufactories[1] and in mines that, though boys and girls on the average began work between seven and nine years of age and worked twelve hours a day, yet they not infrequently began work as early as four years of age, and they were sometimes employed for sixteen or eighteen hours consecutively. Moreover, children in mines were often at work in the wet, in absolute darkness, and in an atmosphere in which a candle would not burn, opening and shutting trapdoors all day long, or dragging, tied by girdle and chain and on hands and knees, loads of coal unduly heavy for them.

Evils of new system, and how remedied.

Abuses of factory system.

Gradually these conditions have been improved, chiefly through the agency of a great series of Factory Laws—some forty in all. The first Acts, passed in 1802 and 1833, were confined to work in *cotton mills*, and the latter of these Acts forbade the employment of children under nine in the mills, insisted that those between nine and thirteen should have two hours a day in school, and limited the hours

The Factory Laws.

[1] Other than cotton mills, where it was forbidden by law; see next paragraph.

of work of those between thirteen and eighteen to sixty-eight hours per week. In 1842 an Act was passed which prohibited the employment underground of children under ten, and of women. In 1847, chiefly owing to the exertions of *Lord Shaftesbury*, and in spite of much opposition in Parliament, came the great Act which limited the hours of boys and girls under eighteen and of women in many factories to *ten* hours per day —an Act which had the effect indirectly of reducing the work of the men in many industries to the same number of hours.

Since the mid-century, State interference has steadily increased. Laws have been passed which sought to remedy the other evils of factory life, by insisting, for instance, upon a certain standard of ventilation and cleanliness, and laying down minute regulations about dangerous industries such as mining; whilst an army of inspectors has been appointed to see that these various laws are enforced. Not only factories and workshops but hotels and shops[1] have come under State supervision; and early in the twentieth century a series of Workmen's Compensation Acts was passed which has practically compelled all employers of labour to insure their workmen and servants against the risks which may arise out of their employment.

In Scotland, owing to the system of education established in 1696 (see p. 458), the people were more or less educated, but in England and Wales the ignorance of the people was as appalling as the conditions under which many of them used to live and work. The Commission of 1840—already alluded to—found people who had never heard of London or of America, of Jesus Christ or of God except in an oath, and it is reckoned that, of the boys and girls of thirteen or fourteen years old, half could not read and nearly three-quarters could not write. Yet something in the way of education was already done before this. Towards the close of the eighteenth century Sunday schools had been started in most districts. Early in the nineteenth century two societies had been founded in order to build and maintain schools. In 1833 the State began to interest itself in education by making an annual grant of £10,000 to each of these societies, whilst in

The ignorance of the people.

[1] A shop girl, for instance, has a legal right to a seat behind the counter.

this same year a Factory Act insisted that children in cotton mills should have instruction for at least two hours a day. By degrees and through voluntary efforts the schools increased.

A new era opened in 1870; for in that year Mr. Forster passed the Elementary Education Act, by which the education of all children up to the age of thirteen—raised subsequently to fourteen—was made compulsory, and popularly elected School Boards were created to supervise it in districts where there was no school already built by voluntary effort, or where the ratepayers desired it. Till 1891 the parents had to contribute, but in that year education was made free; so that at the present time, instead of the £20,000 of 1833, the community pays, either through rates or through taxes, £24,000,000 annually for the cost of education. Under an Act passed in 1902, the general control of education is, subject to the supervision of the Board of Education, now vested, in each county, in the County Council, and in the large towns in the Borough Councils; and great efforts are being made to develop secondary education, i.e. the education of those over fourteen. The State has recently gone one step farther; not only does it see that every child shall be instructed, but it also empowers the Local Authority to feed children who may be necessitous; and insists upon all children being medically inspected at least twice during their school career.

Compulsory education.

Scotland had, as we have seen, a long start in education; but even in that country reforms were necessary. By an Act passed in 1872, the control of the parish and other schools was transferred to elected School Boards, and the cost of maintaining the schools was borne by the rates; in 1882 better provision was made for secondary education, and a few years later elementary education was made free.

If the new conditions in trade and industry have made employment more stable for the great majority, they have made it more precarious for many. A large number of people are occupied in casual labour, such as the dockers, whose means of livelihood are uncertain, or in seasonal trades, such as building, which depend upon the weather. In the large towns, instead of learning a trade as an apprentice,

Unemployment.

boys on leaving school plunge into occupations in which there is no future, for the sake of the immediate wages offered.[1] People, again, who have acquired skill in one particular industry or occupation may find, as the result of a new machine or a new fashion, "their niche in industry broken up".[2] Trade, it is said, goes in cycles; years of prosperity are followed by years of depression, and many workers are consequently thrown out of employment. The worst periods of depression seem to have been during the years just before and just after the close of the great war with Napoleon, and for the five years succeeding the accession of Queen Victoria, whilst the civil war in America produced a cotton famine which had dreadful results in Lancashire in 1861.

As a result of all this, new and complex problems of poverty arose, problems which, so far, the State has not been successful in solving. It may be convenient here to trace the history of the *Poor Laws* in England. In England and Wales, under the Poor Law passed at the end of Elizabeth's reign (1601), each parish looked after its own poor, and overseers were appointed in each parish for this purpose. The impotent were to be relieved, the children to be apprenticed, and the able-bodied set to work; whilst the rogue or sturdy beggar caught "begging or misordering himself" was to be whipped, and then put to work or sent to a house of correction. But in the eighteenth century some fatal mistakes were made. In the first place, in 1782, a law was passed enacting that work must be found near his own home for an able-bodied man who applied for relief. Such a law led to work being undertaken which was often unnecessary and wasteful. Then, in 1795, during the great war, the Berkshire magistrates ordered that outdoor relief (i.e. relief outside the workhouse) should be given to those who applied, on a scale fixed according to the price of corn and the children in the family, and this policy was adopted in many other counties. No stigma attached to, nor were enquiries made about, nor any test of poverty imposed upon, those who applied for relief. Such a

The Poor Law of Elizabeth.

[1] Indeed in London nearly three-fourths of the boys go into unskilled occupations.

[2] Perhaps the artisans in the eighteenth century were not to be altogether blamed if, foreseeing this, they broke into the house of Hargreaves and destroyed his machine, and so persecuted Kay that he had to fly to Paris.

policy was disastrous. The lot of the pauper was often preferable to that of the independent labourer, whilst in some places the wages were reduced, the labourer having the deficiency made up by outdoor relief. Consequently the cost of relief went up by leaps and bounds,[1] and in many places land went out of cultivation because it no longer paid, with such heavy rates, to till it.

The Poor Law of 1834.

A Commission which sat in 1834 revealed these and other abuses, and proposed a scheme, which was adopted. Under this scheme the parishes—some fifteen thousand in number—were grouped into six hundred and forty-three *Unions*. Each Union was controlled, subject to the general supervision of a Poor Law Commission, and subsequently of the Local Government Board, by Boards of Guardians, who were popularly elected from the districts comprised in the union, and whose officials—the relieving officers—had to enquire into the condition of applicants for relief, and report to the guardians. Outdoor relief (i.e. relief outside the workhouse in money or kind) might be given to the sick and aged, to widows and children. But for the able-bodied man, so it was hoped, the Union was to be "the hardest taskmaster and the worst paymaster he can find, and thus induce him to make the application for relief his last and not his first resource". Hence on him was imposed the "workhouse test"; he was, as a rule, only to be allowed relief inside the workhouse, and his lot there was to be less eligible than that of the independent labourer outside.

The Poor Law Commission of 1909.

There is no doubt that under this system many of the abuses which had crept in were swept away. The aim of relief has been, in many unions, "to avert starvation, and not to bestow comfort", whilst "pauperism has been, in the eyes of the poor, associated with disgrace". A Commission, however, which issued its report in 1909, has proved that, at all events of late years, it has not been satisfactory. No successful attempt has been made to link private charity and State relief together. The Local Government Board has not had sufficient powers of supervision. The Boards of Guardians have shown a most astonishing variety in their methods of relief, and

[1] In one village, for instance, the rates for the relief of the poor, though there was hardly any increase in the population, rose from under £11 in 1801 to £367 in 1832.

have proved themselves often inefficient and sometimes corrupt, whilst little interest has been shown in their election. The "workhouse test" has in many cases been neglected, and the workhouses themselves have been places where "old and young, infirm and able-bodied, imbeciles and epileptics" have been crowded together. Moreover, the relief—either indoor or outdoor—of all classes of the poor has been often either "too bad for the good or too good for the bad", either so scanty as to inflict real hardship on the genuine man in temporary want of employment and the poor widow who has to bring up her children, or so sumptuous as to attract the loafers who have never done an honest day's work. It must be left to future years to solve these and other difficult problems connected with the poor.[1] How important they are may be gathered from the fact that one in every twenty-one of the population, and four out of every nine who are over sixty-five years of age, in each year obtain some kind of pauper relief—either indoor, outdoor, or medical; or, put in another way, the total number relieved equals the combined population of Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham, and the cost of such relief is nearly half that of the army.

The Poor Law in Scotland.

The history of the Poor Law in Scotland has been somewhat different. By an Act passed in 1579 each parish looked after its own poor. But relief was not given to the able-bodied, and there were no poorhouses, whilst in most parishes money relief was obtained, not by compulsory rates, but by other means, such as voluntary contributions. Consequently in Scotland it was not the profusion but the exiguousness in the relief given, not the extravagance but the parsimony of the local authorities, which were the chief evils. But in 1845 a law was passed which recommended the provision of poorhouses, and which ordered compulsory rates where necessary. The Poor Law Commission of 1909, however, found grave defects in the Scottish system. The parishes, which (except in the large towns) remain the unit of administration, are in many districts either too small or too large, whilst the prohibition of outdoor relief to the able-bodied, where it is not evaded, often leads to

[1] Since this Report was issued, the creation of Labour Exchanges has done something to mitigate unemployment.

great hardships being inflicted. The Scottish poorhouse is composed of as diverse elements as the English workhouse, and in other respects the Scottish system is open to the same objections as the English system; for instance, the inadequate control exercised by the Local Government Board, and the lack of supervision in the distribution of outdoor relief.

It has been evident from this brief summary that the State has taken, to an increasing extent, a larger share in controlling the lives of its citizens. Not only does it concern itself with the education of the young, the care of the destitute, the protection of the workers, but it has passed laws regulating the public health and the supply of food; it often arbitrates in disputes been masters and men; and in 1908 it passed laws which laid down a mass of regulations with regard to the children, and provided pensions for the aged over seventy. It may be reckoned that on education, public health, the poor, and the aged, some £70,000,000 of public money was spent in 1909. As civilization advances and gets more complex, the probability is that the duties of the State will become even heavier. Yet it must not be supposed that the State has brought about all the improvements that have taken place. Employers have become more humane; private charity has done much to alleviate distress; education is still largely assisted by voluntary effort; and, finally, the workmen themselves, by co-operation and by trade unions, have helped to better their own lot. The *Trade Unions*, composed of workmen—though not all the workmen—employed in each particular branch of industry, have gone through many vicissitudes. In 1800 a law—called the Combination Act—was passed, under which any artisan organizing a strike or joining a trade union was a criminal, and liable to imprisonment. Though this Act was repealed in 1825, a strike might still be a conspiracy, and a trade union could not claim the protection of the law. In the seventies unions were legalized, whilst in 1906 a bill was passed which gave them a privileged position, because the courts are not allowed to entertain any action against them in their corporate capacity, and they are no longer held financially responsible for the illegal actions of their officials in a strike. Though

Growth of State interference.

The Trade Unions.

they have in some ways prevented the labourer from making the best use of his ability, and though the strikes which they have organized have not always been justifiable, yet the trade unions have done much to raise the wages of their members, to find them employment, and to help them when sick or out of work.[1]

XLIV. Politics and Parties from 1815 to 1832

The effects of the "Industrial Revolution" were felt not less in political than in other spheres of national life. The growth of the big towns, the increase in the numbers and importance of the middle class, all contributed to make it impossible to continue a system under which the vast majority of people had no vote, and the members of the House of Lords, through their influence over "pocket boroughs", nominated a large proportion of the members of the House of Commons (see Ch. XXXVI). The reform of Parliament was bound to come, and it is only surprising that it should have been delayed till 1832. The influence, however, of the French Revolution upon English opinion had been that reform was associated with revolution or with a military despotism like that of Napoleon. Moreover, the great war had occupied the energies of Great Britain until 1815. And after the war was over, her attention was at first taken up with matters other than political reform. Finally, when the agitation for reform did come, it was not immediately successful.

Influence of Industrial Revolution upon politics

Consequently, for the first seventeen years after the battle of Waterloo the British Constitution remained unchanged. The eldest son of George III exercised the powers of the monarchy, first after 1811 as *Prince Regent*, and then after 1820 as King *George IV*; but his private life was so disreputable that he was despised and disliked by the

George, Prince Regent, 1811-20, and King, 1820-30.

[1] Of late years the membership of trade unions has largely increased; in 1906 the number of trade unions was over one thousand, with a total membership of over two millions.

best elements in the nation; and the power and influence of the Monarchy was, as a consequence, seriously weakened. The Government remained under the control of the landowning oligarchy; the Tory section of it was in power, first under Lord Liverpool till 1827, and later on under the Duke of Wellington. Finally, however, in 1830, a Whig ministry, pledged to Parliamentary reform, came into office.

1. Years of Distress, 1815–22

This period of seventeen years may be still further subdivided. The first seven years (*1815–22*) were years of even greater distress for the people than the later years of the Napoleonic War, and those who thought that times of peace were necessarily times of prosperity were grievously disappointed. British shippers, instead of enjoying a monopoly of the carrying trade, found eager rivals. British manufacturers found a great reduction in the demand for their goods both at home and abroad, partly because munitions of war were no longer required, and partly because foreign nations began to develop their own manufactures. British farmers found that the price of corn was nearly halved. In addition to this there were heavy taxes and some very bad harvests, especially that in 1816. As a result, there was a general depression in every industry. Mills were closed, iron furnaces blown out, and farms given up in many districts. Artisans and agricultural labourers, soldiers and sailors, were thrown out of work, and the numbers of the unemployed were further swelled owing to the transition from hand labour to machinery referred to in the last chapter. Nor did the poor gain the full effects of the reduced price of corn, as the price of bread did not decrease proportionately.

Causes of distress, 1815-22.

As a result of the widespread distress, many riots arose. In the midland counties the riots—called Luddite[1] after the name of the man who originated them—took the form of the destruction of machinery. In London a mob,

Riots in Great Britain.

[1] Ned Ludd was a village idiot in a Leicestershire village. Baited one day, he pursued his tormentors into a house and broke some machines. Hence, when machines were afterwards broken, it became customary to say that Ludd had broken them.

whose leader demanded universal suffrage and annually elected Parliaments, marched from Spa Fields with the intention of seizing the Tower, and did actually reach the City and effect some damage before it was dispersed. In Derby a riot, in which it is said some five hundred rioters were routed by eighteen hussars, was dignified with the name of an insurrection. In Manchester in 1819 a great meeting of some fifty thousand people was held in order to press for reform. The magistrates considered such a meeting illegal, tried to arrest its leaders, and finally ordered the yeomanry to charge and disperse the crowd. The yeomanry accordingly charged and killed one man, besides wounding forty other persons—an action generally known as the *Manchester Massacre* or the *Battle of Peterloo*, though the killing of one man hardly constitutes a massacre, and a contest in which one side was defenceless could hardly be called a battle. A year later, in 1820, came what is known as the *Cato Street Conspiracy*. A plot was hatched by some men in Cato Street, London, the purpose being to murder all the members of the cabinet whilst they were at a dinner party in Grosvenor Square, but the plot was fortunately discovered before it could be carried into effect. In Scotland also there was great discontent; a general strike took place in Glasgow in 1820, whilst at *Bonnymuir*, in Stirlingshire, the yeomanry had to fight a mob of armed insurgents.

The Corn Laws and Coercive Acts.

In dealing with the critical situation produced by the depression in trade and the consequent rioting, the Tory Government relied upon two cures. To encourage farming, a law was passed forbidding the importation of corn till the price was 80*s.* per quarter. To discourage agitation and rioting, resort was had to coercion. The leaders of the mob were tried, and, if found guilty, were executed. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and the Government was therefore able to keep people in prison without bringing them up at once for trial. And, finally, in 1819 Parliament passed what are known as the *Six Acts* or the *Gag Acts*—the most important being one which imposed a heavy stamp duty on pamphlets, and another making the calling of big public meetings illegal without the consent of the mayor of a town or the lord-lieutenant of a county.

This policy of coercion, though successful, was not popular. Moreover, on George IV's accession to the throne in 1820, the unpopularity of the Government was further increased by their attempt to pass, at the king's instigation, a bill of divorce against Queen Caroline, whom George had married in 1795, though he had lived apart from her for some time. Popular opinion was strongly in favour of the queen, and when the Government majority in the House of Lords sank to 9, the bill was abandoned. Though the death of the queen in 1821 saved further complications, the Government was discredited.

2. Beginning of Reforms, 1822–7

With 1822 begins the second of our subdivisions. In that year what was to all intents and purposes a new ministry came into power, though it had the same leader in Lord Liverpool. Of the more reactionary or ultra-Tory ministers who had influenced the Government's policy, Addington retired from office (though not at once from the cabinet), and Lord Castlereagh, the foreign secretary and leader of the House of Commons, committed suicide. The chief of the new leaders in the cabinet was *Canning*. He had had a brilliant youth. At Eton he had edited a paper with such ability that a London publisher gave him £50 for its copyright. Whilst at Oxford, he was introduced to Fox, and was invited to the great Whig houses. The French Revolution, however, converted him into a Tory, and he became, in 1796, under secretary for foreign affairs in Pitt's ministry, and made some famous contributions, satirizing the supporters of the Revolution, in a weekly newspaper called the *Anti-Jacobin*. On Pitt's resignation in 1801 Canning went out of office, but from 1804–6 he was a member of Pitt's second administration. In 1807 he became secretary of state for foreign affairs in the Portland ministry. The timely seizure of the Danish fleet in that year was due to him, and he was a strong supporter of our intervention in Spain and Portugal. Differences of opinion in the ministry between Castlereagh and Canning led to a duel

Changes in Lord Liverpool's ministry, 1822.

Canning.

between them in 1809[1], but neither was seriously injured. Shortly afterwards, on Perceval becoming prime minister, Canning resigned, though, as an independent member, he advocated energetic measures in the Peninsula. When the war was over, he had served for four years in Lord Liverpool's ministry. In politics a moderate Tory, he became in 1822 leader of the House of Commons and secretary for foreign affairs. Two other moderate Tories took prominent offices: Huskisson became president of the board of trade, and Peel took Addington's place as home secretary.

As a result of this reconstitution of the ministry, the period, as it has been called, of legislative stagnation, which had lasted for some sixty years, came to an end. During the next five years (1822–7) many useful reforms were made. *Canning* inaugurated a new Liberal foreign policy. Proposals were made — which were not converted into laws till later — to make the Corn Laws of 1815 less stringent. *Huskisson* succeeded in repealing the Combination Law of 1800, which pressed so hardly upon workmen (see p. 602), and the Navigation Laws, which were held to be no longer necessary to protect our shipping. Considered in his own time an advanced free trader, Huskisson was in reality a moderate protectionist who abolished many of the duties on raw material, but who took care, whilst reducing the absurdly high duties on foreign manufactures, still to give some measure of protection to British manufactures by duties ranging from 30 to 15 per cent. At the same time he developed the prosperity of the colonies by encouraging emigration, by relaxing the Corn Laws in the case of colonial corn, and, above all, by allowing foreign countries to trade directly with them.

Reforms, 1822–7.

Meantime *Peel* revised the *Criminal Code* and mitigated its severity. At the beginning of the nineteenth century it was a capital offence, for which a man might be hanged, to rob a shopkeeper of goods to the value of 5*s.* or over, or to pick a man's pockets, or to steal a sheep, or to poach a rabbit warren.

[1] The disagreement arose out of the failure of the Walcheren Expedition in 1809. In the duel each missed his first shot; Canning's second shot hit the button of Lord Castlereagh's coat, and Lord Castlereagh's second wounded Canning in the thigh.

It was largely due to Peel that the number of capital offences, which used to be no less than a hundred and sixty in number, has been gradually reduced till those of murder and treason are alone left. At the same time the fact that men were growing more humane is shown in the first attempts to prevent cruelty to dumb animals, and in the prohibition of spring-guns and man-traps, which had been not infrequently used in past times by game-preserving landlords.[1]

3. 1827–32, Catholic Emancipation and the Reform Bills

The Duke of Wellington (1828–30) and Catholic emancipation.

The third subdivision begins in 1827. The death of Lord Liverpool, in February of that year, followed six months later by that of Canning after a short tenure of the premiership, opens a new period. The time for political reform had at last arrived. The next *five years* (1827–32) are taken up, first, with the struggle to secure *Catholic emancipation*, i.e. to allow Roman Catholics to sit in Parliament and to hold offices; and, secondly, with the struggle to secure the *reform of the House of Commons* itself. The first of these struggles took place during the premiership of the Duke of Wellington. The duke became prime minister in 1828, and his chief supporter was Peel. On Catholic emancipation Lord Liverpool's cabinet had been divided, Canning, for instance, being in its favour and Peel against it. But O'Connell's success in Ireland made both the duke and Peel feel that it was impossible to resist the reform any longer. George IV, after withstanding the appeals and arguments of his ministers in a five hours' interview, finally agreed to the bill being introduced, and it was passed. Henceforth Roman Catholics had the same rights as Protestants, except that they could not hold the office of lord high chancellor or lord-lieutenant of Ireland or succeed to the throne. Jews, however, continued to be excluded from the House of Commons up till 1858.

[1] The Game Laws used to be very severe. As late as 1816 an Act was passed punishing with transportation for seven years any person found by night in open ground having in his possession any net or engine for the purpose of taking any hare, rabbit, or other game.

In securing Catholic emancipation, Wellington lost the support of the extreme Tories without gaining the support of the Whigs. Moreover, he was too much of a soldier; his temperament was too domineering and his methods too arbitrary to make him a good prime minister, and he had to resign.

The fall of Wellington's ministry in 1830 followed immediately after the death of George IV. To the latter succeeded *William IV*, a genial and not illiberal monarch, and one who was personally popular. To Wellington's ministry succeeded a Whig ministry, the first since the ill-fated coalition of 1783. Its leader was *Lord Grey*. He was a high-minded and honourable Whig nobleman, genuinely devoted to Parliamentary reform; moreover, he was a good orator, though perhaps of too cold a temperament to arouse much popular enthusiasm. His chief lieutenants were *Lord Brougham*, the lord chancellor, a brilliant and erratic man, who, it was said, "knew a little of everything except law", *Lord Althorp*, who led the House of Commons, and three statesmen who subsequently became prime ministers—*Lord Melbourne*, *Lord John Russell*, and *Lord Palmerston*, who made a conspicuous mark as foreign secretary.

William IV and Lord Grey's ministry, 1830.

The Whigs had long been in favour of Parliamentary reform, and Lord Grey's Government made the passing of a *Reform Bill* their first and greatest object. Of the final struggle for the reform of Parliament little can be said here. The case for reform was overwhelmingly strong. Yet the opposition on the part of the Tories was fierce and protracted. The Government, amidst intense excitement, carried the second reading of its first Reform Bill in the House of Commons by a majority of one in the largest division known till that time (March, 1831).[1] But in the consideration of the details in committee the Government was defeated. Accordingly the Government dissolved Parliament, and as the result of a general election obtained a largely increased majority. A second Reform Bill passed the House of Commons and was

The struggle for the Reform Bill, 1831–2.

[1] "You might have heard a pin drop", Macaulay wrote, "as Duncannon read the numbers. Then again the shouts broke out, and many of us shed tears. I could scarcely refrain."

rejected by the House of Lords. A third bill accordingly followed, which the House of Lords mutilated.

The popular excitement and indignation were overwhelming. In London the mob broke the windows of the Duke of Wellington's house,[1] and tried to drag him from his horse when he was riding through the City of London. The men of Birmingham threatened to refuse to pay taxes, and to march twenty thousand strong upon London, and the Bristol men burnt and sacked the Mansion-House and other places in that city. Additional troops had to be sent north to deal with threatened disorders in Scotland. The ministry, to bring matters to a crisis, resigned. The Duke of Wellington tried to form a ministry, but failed, and Lord Grey accordingly returned to power. The third bill was sent up again to the House of Lords. The duke, realizing that civil war was imminent, and that the king had agreed, if necessary, to create new peers,[2] gave way, and with his followers abstained from voting. The bill was passed, received the king's assent, and at last became law (June, 1832).

XLV. Politics and Parties from the Reform Bill of 1832 to that of 1867

1. The British Constitution, 1832–1911

Terms of Reform Bill.

To Liberal enthusiasts the passing of the Reform Bill was the panacea for all human ills; even children, it is said, went about their playgrounds shouting, "The Reform Bill has passed! The Reform Bill has passed!" To the Tories, on the other hand, the passing of the bill meant the downfall of Great Britain; and the Duke of Wellington expressed the opinion that in six weeks' time Lord Grey would be out of office, and that henceforward no gentleman

[1] The duke consequently put up iron shutters, which remained till his death.

[2] "The king", so ran the document from the king, "grants permission to Earl Grey and to his chancellor, Lord Brougham, to create such a number of peers as will be sufficient to ensure the passing of the Reform Bill, first calling up peers' eldest sons."

would be able to take part in public affairs. Yet in itself the Reform Bill appears to us now a mild measure. It abolished a great number of "rotten" and "pocket" boroughs, a hundred and forty-three seats in all, and gave them to counties or large towns. The franchise in the counties was extended to copyholders[1] and long leaseholders of lands worth £10 a year, or to tenants-at-will of lands worth £50 a year, and in the boroughs to holders of houses worth £10 a year. But it is reckoned that under the bill only one person out of every twenty-two of the whole population had a vote.

The Reform Bill of 1832, nevertheless, broke down the monopoly of power possessed by the land-owning aristocracy, and by giving the vote to all the middle class altered the centre of gravity in politics. Moreover, once a Reform Bill was passed, other bills were bound to follow. In 1867 a Conservative ministry passed the second Reform Bill, which gave the vote to the better-class artisan in the towns. And then, in 1884, the vote was given to the agricultural labourer in country districts and to nearly all men in towns. Since that date it may be said that practically every one has had a vote who is not a minor, an alien, a pauper, a criminal, a woman, a lunatic, or a peer.

The Reform Bills of 1867 and 1884.

The Duke of Wellington's prophecy with regard to gentlemen ceasing to be able to take part in politics proved to be signally wrong. No doubt members after 1832 were drawn from a wider circle, and more merchants and more lawyers were elected than formerly, but the old governing families still had great influence. The most striking feature of British political life has been that, at all events till recent years, what may be called the public school class has governed Britain. Of our leading statesmen in the nineteenth century the great majority have been educated at the larger public schools.[2] Though, however, the character of our legislators did

Changes in politics after 1832.

[1] A copyholder is almost as complete an owner of land as the freeholder. It is true the land does not belong to him, but practically he cannot be dispossessed of it without his consent.

[2] In the Parliament of 1865 one-quarter of the members, it has been computed, were connected with thirty-one families, whilst in the Parliament of 1900 one-quarter of the members had been educated at either Eton or Harrow. Up till 1906 the number of Labour members was insignificant, and not one of them had entered the cabinet.

not greatly alter, yet the character of legislation did. The period of quiescence in legislation came finally to an end. The rival programmes of each party were full of legislative promises, and to an increasing extent, as the franchise was extended, this legislation has been passed for the benefit of the working classes. Moreover, the methods of politics changed. Reporters were admitted to the debates. The sessions were more protracted. Members became more regular in their attendance. Again, public meetings became far more common. Canning was the first great statesman to address them, but the prejudice against ministers in high office speaking in the country lingered for some time, and even as late as 1886 Queen Victoria objected to Mr. Gladstone addressing public meetings outside his own constituency.

We have already discussed the working of our Constitution between 1714 and 1832 (Chap. XXXVI), and we may say something about its practice from 1832 till the early years of the twentieth century. First of all, as to the *Crown*. It is difficult to estimate exactly the importance of the Crown influence since the Reform Bill. In the sphere of foreign politics, however, its influence has probably been considerable. The increasing knowledge and experience which Queen Victoria, for instance, possessed, and her close family connection with most of the crowned heads of Europe,[1] were assets of great value in the conduct of foreign policy; and we know that Queen Victoria insisted on seeing all the foreign dispatches, and being informed and consulted on foreign affairs. Then, again, the personality of Edward VII was undoubtedly a great factor in withdrawing Great Britain from the dangerous isolation into which she had fallen. In home politics, the Crown, because of its independence and disinterestedness, has been eminently qualified to play the part of candid critic, and to prevent ministers being influenced by merely party considerations. More especially in the higher appointments, whether in Church or State, its opinions carry weight.

Working of the Constitution, 1832–1909.

Influence of Crown.

It is, however, in times of crisis that the need of the Crown is greatest. An alteration made by Queen Victoria in a dispatch probably saved us from a war with America in 1861, and the

[1] See the genealogy on p. 617.

singular felicitousness of the proclamation to the Indian peoples after the Indian Mutiny was due to her suggestions. The Crown, moreover, must choose the prime minister. Sometimes it may have to persuade statesmen to work together in a ministry, as in the case of Lord Aberdeen's ministry of 1852, or act as mediator between the rival parties, as in the Irish Church question in 1869. But the greatest influence of the Crown lies in its influence upon the empire. Whether in Great or in Greater Britain, the Crown is the symbol of the unity of the race; it can express, on behalf of the whole empire, the feelings of all. The undisguised rule of a temporary majority in the British House of Commons would be likely to provoke irritation rather than enthusiasm, but every part of the empire bears gladly the "golden fetters" lightly imposed through the existence of the Crown.[1]

The *House of Lords* during this period was still powerful; but it no longer asserted its equality with the other House. The part played by the House of Lords in delaying or preventing legislation is at present a matter of fierce controversy. Many bills sent up by the House of Commons have been rejected by the Upper House; but the House of Lords has eventually passed most measures which it felt the nation really desired. The *House of Commons* became unquestionably the chief legislative body. It is there that bills were exhaustively discussed, and, above all, it was upon a majority in this House that the existence of a ministry depended. For during this period the *Cabinet System* passed through the last stages of its evolution. Composed, except in the case of one or two coalition ministries, of statesmen of the same party, the cabinet met under the presidency of a prime minister, who selected its members and might procure their dismissal. It was collectively responsible for the actions of each of its members. Its meetings were secret, and no formal record was kept of its proceedings. And, as the nineteenth century progressed, the cabinet has absorbed more and more of the time and energies of Parliament for the consideration of the

The Houses of Parliament.

The cabinet system.

[1] In order to appreciate the part that the Crown has played, the Queen's letters—which have been published up till 1861—should be read.

laws which it has brought forward. Moreover, the powers of the private member have declined; and this has made the claims of party more insistent and individual judgment less possible.

2. The Whig Ministries of Lord Grey and Lord Melbourne, 1830–41

Characteristics of politics, 1832–67.

We took as the first period in our political history since 1815 the seventeen years that elapsed between the battle of Waterloo and the reform of Parliament. We may take as a second period the thirty-five years between the first and the second Reform Acts, the years between 1832 and 1867, sometimes known as the period of the £10 Householder, because it was on his vote that the Government of the day depended. Party politics during this period are hard to disentangle. The tenets of parties were, it has been said, "shifting, equivocal, and fluid". Statesmen were found first upon one side and then upon another. Lord Stanley held high office in Lord Grey's Whig cabinet of 1830, and subsequently when Earl of Derby formed three Conservative cabinets.[1] Lord Melbourne was in Wellington's Tory ministry of 1828, and became a few years later the prime minister of a Whig ministry. Gladstone started his political career, in Macaulay's phrase, as "the rising hope of the stern, unbending Tories", and ended it as an advanced Liberal. Peel was the great leader of the Tories, and yet his chief measures were those to which the Tory party had always been most strenuously opposed. While the extremes of the two British parties, Macaulay once said, are separated by a wide chasm, there is a frontier line where they almost blend. Many of the chief statesmen during these years were near the frontier line, and found it easy to cross over. The two extremes —the ultra-Tories on the one hand, and the Radicals on the other—had nothing in common; but then they did not possess much influence.

For eleven years, from 1830–41, the Whigs—or Liberals as

[1] Curiously enough his son, after being foreign secretary in Disraeli's Conservative Government of 1874, became ten years later colonial secretary in Gladstone's Liberal Government.

they now began to be called—were in power. They had at first, under the leadership of *Lord Grey*, all the fresh energy of a party long exiled from office. As has been narrated, they reformed the system of election to the House of Commons in 1832. They reorganized, in 1834, the whole of our Poor Law system (p. 600). They abolished slavery in the British dominions. They passed the first really effective factory law for remedying the grave abuses in cotton mills, and made the first State grant towards education. But disagreements about Irish policy led to the resignation, first of Lord Stanley, and later of Lord Althorp; and upon the resignation of the latter, Lord Grey, already over seventy years of age, insisted upon retiring from office (1834).

Reforms of Lord Grey's ministry, 1830-4.

Lord Melbourne succeeded as prime minister in 1834. Lord Palmerston remained foreign secretary, and Lord John Russell became leader of the House; but Lord Brougham's services as lord chancellor were soon dispensed with. The Melbourne ministry succeeded in remaining in office almost continuously for seven years. There were, however, two ministerial crises. In the very year of its formation, in 1834, William IV dismissed it because he objected to its policy —interesting as being the last occasion on which the Crown, on its own initiative, has thus acted. Peel was summoned from Rome to form a ministry, and at once dissolved Parliament; but, finding himself in a minority in the newly elected House of Commons, he resigned after four months of power, and Melbourne returned.

Lord Melbourne's ministries, 1834, 1835-41.

The second crisis, in 1839, was due to the so-called *Bedchamber Question.* Melbourne resigned because he had been almost beaten in the House of Commons over Jamaican affairs. Peel was called upon by Queen Victoria, who had succeeded to the throne in 1837, to become prime minister. But he and Wellington, the other Tory leader, insisted upon the ladies of the queen's household, who were Whigs, being replaced by those of a Tory character. No doubt Peel was constitutionally correct, but he showed some want of tact and discretion in his dealings with a young queen barely twenty years of age.[1] The upshot was

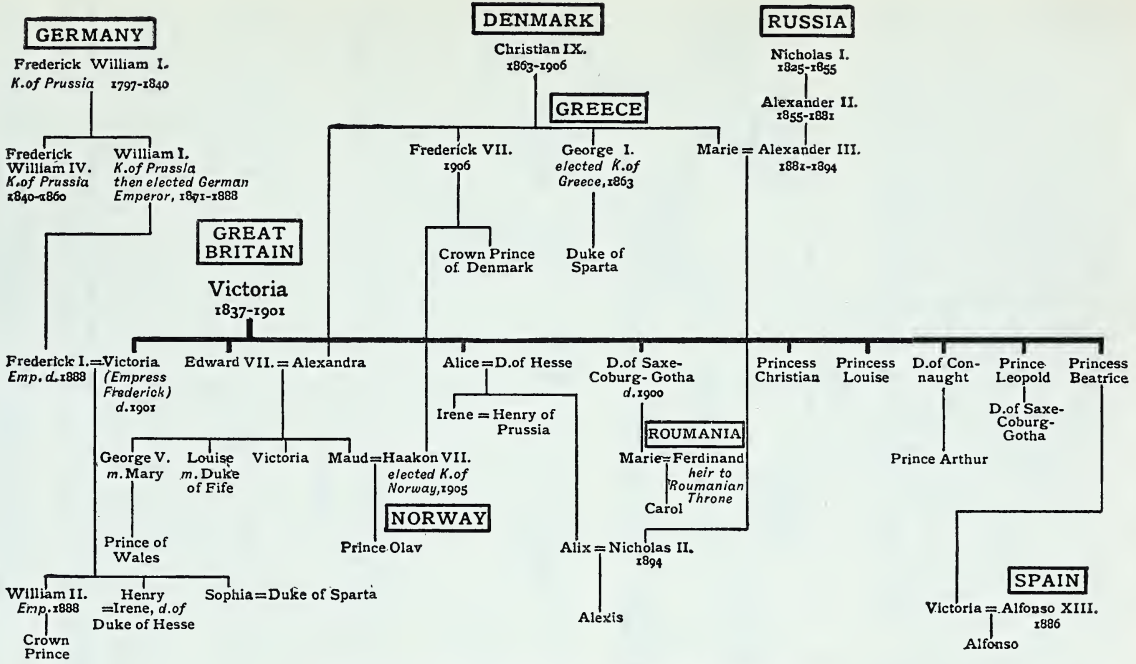
[1] There was some truth in the Duke of Wellington's remark: "Peel has no manners, and I have no small talk".

that the queen refused to change her ladies, and that Melbourne, to the queen's great satisfaction, returned to power. For more than two years Melbourne lingered on, though there were some very close divisions in the House of Commons. Finally, in 1841, he was beaten by one vote, and dissolved Parliament. In the new House of Commons there was a decided Tory majority, and Lord Melbourne retired from office—this time for good.

During Lord Melbourne's leadership the Whigs had lost their reforming zeal. The Municipal Corporations Act, indeed, had been passed in 1835, and Penny Postage introduced in 1839. But the ministry had adopted a very illiberal policy towards Canada, and failed to prevent a rebellion in 1839. Its policy towards the Jamaican planters who objected to the emancipation of their slaves aroused great opposition. Its administration in Ireland had, all things considered, been successful, and won for it the unusual support, during a greater part of its career, of O'Connell, the leader of the Irish party in the House of Commons; but the opponents of the ministry maintained, and with some reason, that it had not succeeded in keeping Ireland in order or in repressing agrarian outrages.

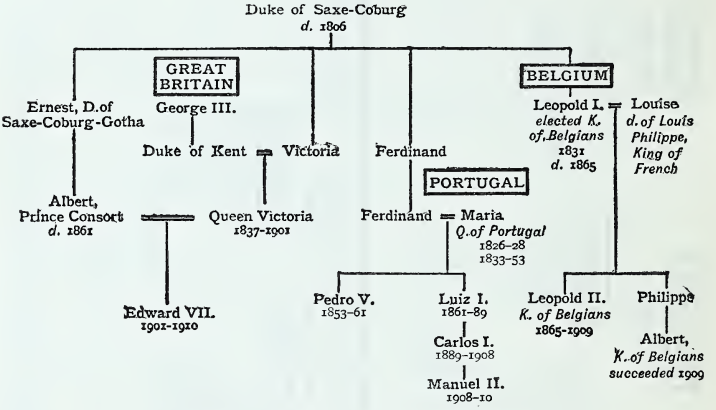
On the whole, however, it was an advantage to the nation that Lord Melbourne remained in power for so long a period. He had not been, it is true, an inspiring leader for a reforming party. Though he supported in a lukewarm fashion the Reform Bill of 1832, he had prophesied that its result would be "a prevalence of the blackguard interest in Parliament"; and he was against "any tampering with the Corn Laws". A liberally minded and cultured man, he was yet too cynical and too indolent to be possessed of any enthusiasms. "Why not leave it alone?" was his invariable query to proposals emanating from the more advanced sections of his party. "It doesn't matter what we say, but we must all say the same thing," was said to have been his remark at a cabinet meeting. But his shrewdness and humour, combined with his kindliness and tact, which kept his cynicism under control, made him just the sage and worldly-wise counsellor that a young queen who had been brought up in some retirement by a German mother required. He was in constant attendance upon the queen during

Character and influence of Lord Melbourne.



Genealogical Table showing Family Connections of Queen Victoria

the early years of her reign, acting as her secretary and spending often six hours a day in her company; and no one can read the correspondence between them without realizing the great debt which the country owes to the queen's first prime minister.[1] In the words of the Duke of Wellington, it was Lord Melbourne "who taught the queen how to preside over the destinies of this great country". The singularly happy marriage, in 1840, of the queen with *Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg* made the further tute-



Family Connections of the Prince Consort

lage of Lord Melbourne unnecessary, and with his retirement, in 1841, the Prince Consort—as Prince Albert was called—became the queen's secretary and confidential adviser.

3. Sir Robert Peel's Conservative Ministry and the Repeal of the Corn Laws, 1841–6

With the fall of the Whigs in 1841 the Tories returned to power. *Sir Robert Peel* was at last able to form a more durable ministry than on the two previous occasions on which he had been called to office. Peel, who was the son of

Career of Peel.

[1] "I have no doubt Lord Melbourne is passionately fond of her," wrote a contemporary, "as he might be of his daughter if he had one. It is become his province to educate, instruct, and form the most interesting mind and character in the world."

a wealthy manufacturer, had been destined, like the younger Pitt, for politics from his birth.[1] When he was barely of age, in 1809, his father bought for him a "rotten borough" in Ireland. He quickly made his mark in Parliament. His maiden speech was pronounced to be "the best first speech since that of Mr. Pitt", and within a year he became an under secretary of state. In 1812 Lord Liverpool made him chief secretary for Ireland, and for the next six years he remained the virtual ruler of that country. Subsequently, in 1822, as we have seen, he was given the post of home secretary[2] in Lord Liverpool's reorganized ministry, and in 1828—just before he was forty years of age—he became, in the Duke of Wellington's ministry, leader of the House of Commons. During the Whig ascendancy, from 1830 to 1841, he had industriously revived the energies of the Tory or, as he preferred to call it, the Conservative party. He had succeeded in introducing many important amendments into the Whig measures, and had recruited promising young men such as Gladstone and Disraeli to serve under his banner.

Peel thus found himself, in 1841, at the head of a great party, and his only difficulty with so much talent at his command was whom to exclude from office. The ministry which he eventually formed was exceptionally strong. It included four past or future prime ministers, in the *Duke of Wellington*, who held at first no office of State, though later he became commander-in-chief; *Lord Aberdeen*, the pacific foreign secretary; *Lord Stanley*, who was responsible for the colonies; and *Gladstone*, who was given a post at the Board of Trade. Besides these, there was Peel's closest ally, *Graham*, who was home secretary, and an experienced and clever lord chancellor in *Lord Lyndhurst*. Yet in this galaxy of talent Peel stood pre-eminent. Though a shy man, cold and awkward in his manner towards his political followers,[3] he was a weighty and cogent speaker, and his skill and tact in managing Parliament made him,

Characteristics of Peel's ministry, 1841–6.

[1] When still a boy at Harrow he used to listen to the debates in the House of Commons. At Oxford he had worked prodigiously hard, studying just before his examination some eighteen hours a day, and he was the first Oxonian who obtained a double first; this was not possible before owing to the system of examinations.

[2] It was whilst he was home secretary that he formed the Metropolitan Police—hence their nicknames "peelers" or "bobbies", as his Christian name was Robert.

[3] It was described as "haughtily stiff or exuberantly bland".

in Disraeli's opinion, the greatest member of Parliament that ever lived. His immense powers of work, the clearness of his intellect, and his great experience enabled him not only to spend eight hours a day in the House of Commons attending the debates, not only to conduct a huge correspondence, but also to supervise, to an extent which no subsequent prime minister has probably even attempted to equal, the affairs of the various departments of State. Mr. Gladstone thought Peel's ministry "a perfectly organized administration". "Neither the Grand Turk nor a Russian despot", said Cobden, the free trader, "had more power than Peel."

Of the four or five most memorable administrations of the century, it has been said, the great Conservative Government of Sir Robert Peel was undoubtedly one. It had to deal with a situation which required the exercise of its great talents. In foreign affairs, there was actual war with China, a prospective war with Afghanistan, relations strained almost to breaking-point with France, and boundary disputes with the United States. At home, there was in trade great depression; amongst the poor distress was universal, and one person in every eleven was a pauper; rioting and sedition were rife; and the national revenue had shown during the last five years a heavy deficit. How the foreign difficulties were overcome is related elsewhere (Chap. XLVIII). In domestic affairs, the first object of Peel's attention was the reorganization of national finance. He imposed an income tax of 7*d.* in the pound. This not only remedied the deficit, but enabled him to lessen the burden of the customs duties. Continuing the policy of Huskisson, he—during his five years of office—reduced over a thousand of these duties and abolished over six hundred, and by so doing enabled the raw material for manufactures to be obtained far more cheaply and the cost of living to be reduced. This does not exhaust Peel's achievements in finance. By the *Bank Charter Act* of 1844 he reorganized the banking system of the country, and limited the issue of bank notes payable on demand, notes which in previous times bankers had been in the habit of circulating with dangerous profusion.

Peel's finance.

In company with many other prime ministers, Peel found Ireland a difficulty during his period of power. It is related elsewhere (Chap. XLVII) how Peel stifled the movement for the

repeal of the Union under O'Connell, who was now in opposition to the Government. But Peel was not averse to Irish reforms. He made a grant towards the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth, and appointed a commission—known as the Devon Commission—to enquire into the Irish land question. Before, however, any legislation could be founded upon the report of this commission, a famine occurred in Ireland which was to cause not only the fall of Peel, but almost the destruction of the party which he led.

Ireland.

It will be remembered that after the great war with Napoleon was over, a law was passed prohibiting the importation of foreign corn until the price of corn at home had reached a certain height. Subsequently, in 1826, a sliding scale had been adopted whereby the duties on foreign corn varied with the price of corn at home. But gradually popular feeling was aroused against laws which made the price of bread so high. Since England's population had grown so big, it was no longer possible to grow enough corn at home cheaply, and bad seasons, therefore, were apt to cause much distress. In 1838 the *Anti-Corn Law League* was founded by some Manchester merchants. The League was fortunate in its two orators, *Cobden* and *Bright*, the one the son of a small Sussex farmer, and by profession a Lancashire calico printer, and the other the son of a Lancashire cotton spinner. Cobden had the power of stating a case with such clearness that the dullest and most ignorant could understand it, whilst Bright's chief strength lay in his power of pulverizing the arguments of his opponents. These two, in Cobden's words, lived in public meetings, traversing Great Britain from end to end, proclaiming the doctrine of free trade, and exhorting the people to agitate for the abolition of the Corn Laws. Cobden was elected a member of the House of Commons in 1841, and Bright in 1843, and they, of course, proved a powerful reinforcement to the small band of free traders in that assembly.

The Anti-Corn Law League.

Peel had come into office at the head of a party which strongly favoured the maintenance of the Corn Laws. He had, however, already modified these laws in 1844, not without some dissatisfaction from members of his own party, and he seems gradually to have reached

The Irish Famine and the Corn Laws.

the conclusion that the interests of the nation demanded their total abolition. And then came the event which forced him to take immediate action. In 1845 a disease appeared in Ireland which ruined the potato crop of that year. More than half the population of Ireland depended for their food exclusively upon potatoes, and famine with all its horrors threatened the Irish people. Corn, the only possible substitute, was deficient in Great Britain owing to heavy July rains, and could not be imported from abroad except under heavy duties. Peel decided that these duties must be suspended and ultimately abolished. But he was unable to persuade the majority of his colleagues to agree with him, and accordingly resigned office. Lord John Russell, the leader of the Whigs, who had also declared for the abolition of the Corn Laws, was called upon to form a ministry. He failed, however, to do so, and Peel was then recalled.

Repeal of Corn Laws, 1846.

With the exception of Lord Stanley, Peel was able to include in his new ministry all the more important of his former colleagues, for many Tories felt that the abolition of the Corn Laws, with Peel as leader, was at any rate preferable to a ministry composed, in Wellington's phrase, of "Cobden and Co.", which might attempt reforms of even more radical a character. Fierce opposition, however, came from one section of the Tory party which held firm to protection. Their leaders were *Lord George Bentinck* and *Benjamin Disraeli*. The latter, in a series of brilliant and virulent speeches, called Peel's Government an "organized hypocrisy", and said of Peel himself that he was a "sublime mediocrity",[1] and that he "was no more a great statesman than the man who gets up behind the carriage is a great whip". Peel nevertheless succeeded in persuading Parliament to repeal the Corn Laws; but he was beaten in an attempt to pass a Coercion Act dealing with the disorder in Ireland, and resigned—never to return to office again.

Twice, it was said, Peel had betrayed his party—once when he yielded over Catholic emancipation in 1829, and again when he repealed the Corn Laws. Whether his conduct, in either or

[1] Amongst other things, he compared Peel's conduct to that of the Turkish admiral who steered his fleet straight into the enemy's port, and who defended his conduct on the plea that he was an enemy to war, that he hated a prolonged contest, and that therefore he had terminated it by deserting the cause of his master.

both of these cases, was justifiable, will always be matter for controversy. It is not necessary, however, to doubt the sincerity of Peel's own change of view. He was one of those statesmen very near the border-line between the two parties, and he has been truly called the most Liberal of Conservatives and the most Conservative of Liberals. The truth seems to be that, though he was the leader, he was not really representative of the opinions of the party to which he belonged, his views being those of the middle class, from which he sprang, and not of the great landowners. And it was all to his credit that he had the courage and open-mindedness to reconsider his opinions, and, if they changed, to act accordingly. The only charge that can be fairly urged against him is that he was secretive and reserved whilst re-forming his opinions, and gave his party scant notice of his change of view.

Did Peel betray his party?

4. The Ministries of Lords John Russell and Aberdeen, 1846–55

Peel, by putting an end to protection, had split his own party. One section, under Bentinck, Stanley, and Disraeli, in theory continued to remain protectionists. Another, to which the Duke of Wellington, Lord Aberdeen, and Gladstone belonged, were known as Peelites, because they remained the faithful supporters of their old leader. As a result of the Tory disunion, the Whigs, under *Lord John Russell*, returned to office in 1846, and remained there till 1852. The ministry, however, was a Whig ministry of the old type, consisting of peers or the connections of peers, and the more advanced elements of the Liberal party were not represented. Ireland at first claimed the attention of the Government, and the ministry had to propose measures to alleviate the distress and to repress the disorder caused by the famine.

Peelites and Protectionists.

Lord J. Russell's ministry, 1846–52.

A popular movement in Britain, known as the Chartist movement, was the next difficulty which faced the ministry. It obtained this name from the fact that its promoters had drawn

up a "People's Charter" which demanded six concessions—manhood suffrage, vote by ballot, annual Parliaments, payment of members, abolition of property qualification for members of Parliament, and equal electoral districts. The movement had reached formidable dimensions in 1838, and had led to serious riots. After that it had been quiescent, only to show increased energy in 1848, owing to the great revolutions in that year all over Europe (Chap. XLVIII). An Irishman, by name *Feargus O'Connor*, an enormous man with a great capacity for mob oratory, was its leader.[1] A monster petition was prepared, containing over five and a half million signatures. O'Connor's idea was to lead a gigantic procession and present the petition to the House of Commons. But the Duke of Wellington, as commander-in-chief, made such an arrangement of the troops that all prospects of disorder were dissipated, and, in addition, one hundred and seventy thousand special constables, drawn chiefly from the upper and middle classes, were sworn in to keep order if the need arose. In the end, on a wet day, the monster petition was taken to the House of Commons in a hackney coach, but the procession was not allowed to cross Westminster Bridge. Then the petition was examined, and more than half the signatures were discovered to be forgeries. The Chartist agitation failed to survive the ridicule and discredit that this revelation brought upon it, and died harmlessly away, though several of its original demands were granted, wholly or in part, in later years. Compared to the revolutions on the Continent, the Chartist movement in Britain was a very small affair; the forces on the side of order in Britain were too strong, and, moreover, the Government being based on popular support, the Chartist movement failed to win much national sympathy.

The Chartist movement, 1848.

In 1852 Lord John Russell's ministry came to an end. The foreign policy of Lord Palmerston had been severely criticized by the queen, and his methods were so irregular that he was forced by Lord John Russell to resign (1851). A few months later Palmerston

Fall of Lord J. Russell, 1852.

[1] He appealed, he said, "to the unshaved chins, the blistered hands, and fustian jackets of the genuine working man".

had what he called his "Tit-for-tat" with Lord John Russell, and beat him in the House of Commons over an amendment in a Militia Bill, a defeat which led to the resignation of the ministry (1852).

On Lord John Russell's resignation, followed by a brief tenure of power by Lord Derby (the Lord Stanley of Peel's ministry), who did not attempt, however, to revive protection, the queen persuaded the leaders of the Peelites and of the Whigs to combine in a coalition ministry. Peel had died in 1850, and the Duke of Wellington in 1852, but Peel's followers held the two most important positions in the ministry—*Lord Aberdeen* being prime minister, and *Gladstone* chancellor of the exchequer. The two chief Whigs, *Lord John Russell* and *Lord Palmerston*, made up their dispute, the one becoming leader of the House of Commons, and the other home secretary, whilst Lord Clarendon was made foreign secretary. "England does not love coalitions" was Disraeli's remark upon this ministry, and it lasted but a short time and accomplished little. Gladstone, however, had time to sweep away the remaining protective duties, and made Great Britain a purely free-trade country. In foreign affairs the ministry showed itself somewhat weak and hesitating, as a coalition of such diverse elements was perhaps bound to be, and its mismanagement of the Crimean War led to its resignation in 1855.

Lord Aberdeen's Coalition ministry, 1852–5.

5. The Dictatorship of Lord Palmerston, 1855–65, and the Reform Bill of 1867

For the next ten years (1855–1865) *Lord Palmerston* was the practical dictator of the country. On two occasions, however, he found himself in a minority. He was beaten, in 1857, in the House of Commons because he upheld a high-handed action of our agent in Hong-Kong. He thereupon dissolved Parliament and came back with a considerable majority. On the second occasion, a few months later, in 1858, he was held to have truckled to France. A man called Orsini had tried to murder

Lord Palmerston's ministries, 1855–8 and 1859–65.

Napoleon III, the ruler of that country. He had contrived his plot in London, and, in order to prevent the recurrence of such an affair and to soothe French susceptibilities, Palmerston brought in a Conspiracy to Murder Bill, making such a conspiracy a felony punishable by penal servitude for life. The opposition represented this bill as due to French dictation, and the bill was thrown out. Palmerston resigned. Lord Derby formed the second of his administrations, only to make way, after fifteen months of office, for the return of Palmerston in 1859.

Domestic affairs, 1855-65.

Apart from foreign affairs, of which Lord John Russell had control after 1859, there is little of importance to record during these ten years. *Gladstone* had developed into a Liberal, and in 1859 became the chancellor of the exchequer. He exhibited great financial skill and still greater powers of oratory in the budgets which he annually produced. After the Crimean War, in which France had been our ally, was over, Great Britain became very apprehensive of Napoleon III's ambitions, and the scare of an invasion from France led to the formation, in 1858, of the *Volunteers*, who fifty years later were merged in the Territorial Army. The *Prince Consort* died in 1861. Though never very popular in Great Britain, and though at times his influence over the queen, especially in foreign affairs, was somewhat resented and sometimes misunderstood, he had devoted his whole energies to his adopted country, and his death was a great loss. Moreover, the grief of the queen was inconsolable, and she lived in almost complete retirement for the next ten years.

Career of Lord Palmerston (d. 1865).

Lord Palmerston died, "full of years and honour", in 1865, when within two days of his eighty-first birthday. Few can have had a larger experience of political life than he had. He had been given a "rotten borough" to represent in 1807, on the quaint condition of its owner that "he should never set foot in the borough", and had remained a member of the House of Commons till his death nearly sixty years later. He had served under ten prime ministers. For nearly fifty years he had been a minister of the Crown, and for a greater portion of the time since 1830 he had

been mainly responsible, either as foreign secretary or as prime minister, for the foreign policy of the country. Lord Palmerston has been described as a thorough English gentleman. He was a good-humoured and good-tempered man, bluff and hearty, loving a political fight, and yet a generous foe. He was an excellent landlord and a keen sportsman, who made of his exercise, as he said, "a religion"[1]. Masterful in council, expert in administration, he possessed all those qualities of common sense, self-confidence, and courage which appealed to his country, and towards the end of his life his supremacy was hardly questioned, even by his political opponents. He has been described, with some truth, as a Conservative at home and a Revolutionist abroad. After 1832 he had little sympathy with further reform movements in Great Britain, and whilst he was in power no reforms were passed; but his sympathy with Liberal aspirations in countries which did not enjoy the same measure of self-government and liberty as Great Britain was sincere and outspoken (p. 655).

After Lord Palmerston's death the further reform of Parliament could no longer be delayed. The agitation in favour of reform became serious, and a gigantic procession organized by the reformers swept down the railings of Hyde Park when its members were not allowed to pass through the park gates. Lord John Russell, who succeeded Palmerston as prime minister, tried to pass a bill, but some of his own party—who were compared by Bright to the discontented refugees in the cave of Adullam, and hence came to be known as "the Adullamites"—attacked the bill so fiercely that Lord John Russell resigned. Lord Derby then formed the third and last of his administrations. The Conservative leaders, and in particular Disraeli, considered that a Reform Bill must be produced, though Lord Derby confessed it was a "leap in the dark". Consequently Disraeli, in 1867, piloted a new *Reform Bill* through the House of Commons, though he had, as he said, "to educate his own party" as he did so, and though he

The Reform Bill of 1867.

[1] Lord Palmerston riding on his old grey horse was one of the most familiar sights in London, and he thought nothing of riding in the rain to Harrow—his old school—and back when not far short of eighty years of age.

had to accept many amendments from the opposition leader, Gladstone.

6. Review of Affairs outside Party Politics, 1832–67

Review of affairs, 1832–67.

On the whole our domestic politics from the fall of Lord Grey in 1834 to the Reform Bill of 1867 were, apart from the struggle for the repeal of the Corn Laws, unexciting. This was partly due to the fact that the programme of the Liberals or Whigs was exhausted, and that they desired organic changes no more than the Conservatives. Moreover, towards the close of the period the attention of Great Britain was increasingly drawn to affairs outside her own shores. First came the revolutionary movements of 1848. Then followed the intrigues and negotiations leading to the Crimean War of 1854. Immediately after the termination of that war came the Indian Mutiny of 1857, which was followed by the war of Italian Unity in 1859. The American Civil War occurred in 1861, and caused the stoppage of the supply of raw cotton from the Southern States, thus causing the most fearful distress in Lancashire, as many of the cotton mills had to be closed. Later on came the Danish question which led to the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 (see Ch. XLVIII, §§ 2 and 3). But, above all, the best energies of the nation were occupied in other directions. The later years of the period were years of wonderful and continuous progress in industries and manufactures, a progress which was illustrated by a great exhibition held in Hyde Park in 1851. In the domain of literature, Tennyson and Browning, Thackeray and Dickens, Carlyle and Ruskin were doing some of their best work. In the domain of science, Darwin was arriving at that theory of natural selection based on the facts of evolution which was to be published to an astonished and at first incredulous world in 1859.

Moreover, both in England and Scotland, ecclesiastical controversies were acute. In England, in 1833, the *High Church* or *Oxford movement* was initiated at Oxford by *Newman* and *Keble*.

Its object was not only to make people realize the continuity of the Church of England, and to revive some of the ceremonies and doctrines of the early and middle ages, but also to bring the church more in touch with the needs of the time. The opponents of the High Church party, the Broad Church and Low Church parties, maintained that the opinions of the more extreme, at all events, of the High Church party were contrary to the doctrines of the Church of England as settled at the Reformation, and approximated to those of the Church of Rome. Colour was lent to this charge by the fact that Newman seceded to Rome in 1845,[1] and that his example was followed by many others. These ecclesiastical controversies occupied much public attention, especially between 1840 and 1865. They were of considerable benefit to the Church of England, as they provoked keenness and energy, and ever since the Oxford movement the activities of that Church have been manifold and productive.

The High Church movement.

In Scotland, also, there was, during these years, a great religious movement. As has been explained in an earlier chapter (see Ch. XXXV), Presbyterianism had, after the revolution of 1688, been established as the State religion of Scotland. But considerable dissensions had at various times arisen, more especially as to the system in Scotland whereby ministers were appointed by individual lay patrons. It was held by a great many that the appointment of ministers should rest, not with any individual, but with each separate congregation or their representatives, and at all events that the latter should possess a veto on any appointment. The matter came up before Parliament, but the Government would not recognize the right of veto. Consequently in 1843 came the famous disruption in the Scottish Church, and a large number of people, headed by *Dr. Chalmers*, founded a new organization called the *Free Church of Scotland.* Some sixty years later, in 1900, the great majority of the members of the Free Church amalgamated with the United Presbyterian Church, the other chief dissident from the State Church, and formed "the United Free Church", though a minority declined to unite and remained a separate organization.

The Disruption of 1843 in Scotland.

[1] He eventually became a Cardinal.

XLVI. Politics and Parties from the Reform Act of 1867 to the Parliament Act of 1911

1. From the Reform Act of 1867 to the Home Rule Bill of 1886

We may take as our third period in our survey of politics since 1815 the nineteen years that elapsed between the passing of the second Reform Bill of 1867 and the defeat of the Home Rule Bill of 1886. The Reform Bill of 1867 opened a new era. Under that bill as finally passed, all rate-paying householders were given the vote, and lodgers who paid £10 a year in rent,[1] whilst in the counties the occupation franchise was lowered to £12. Henceforth the artisan in the town became the arbiter in politics, and the parties had to adapt themselves to their new master. The Whigs became definitely Liberals, and the Radical element grew increasingly stronger in their councils. The more enterprising of the Conservatives called themselves Tory-Democrats, and wooed the working man with words as honeyed as those of their opponents, and promises hardly less lavish. Moreover, by this time the old leaders had disappeared. Lord Palmerston, as we have seen, died in 1865. Lord John Russell retired from public life after his defeat in 1866, and Lord Derby after the passing of the Reform Bill in 1867. Lord George Bentinck had died in 1848, Sir Robert Peel in 1850, the Duke of Wellington in 1852, and Lord Aberdeen in 1860. The way was thus left open for two men, Benjamin Disraeli and William Ewart Gladstone.

Gladstone and Disraeli.

Seldom in English history have two great statesmen living in the same age been so different as *Gladstone* and *Disraeli*. Gladstone was of good Scottish descent, and enjoyed an education at Eton and Oxford. He made his reputation originally by a book in which he advocated High Church principles with regard to Church and State, and began his

[1] Provided that they had occupied the lodgings for twelve months.

political career when barely twenty-three, being given a "pocket borough" which belonged to a Tory of the most extreme type. Subsequently, as we have seen, after being for a short time a member of Peel's Conservative ministry, he had become a Peelite when the Corn Laws were abolished. He then slowly developed into a Liberal, and the budget speeches which he made as chancellor of the exchequer, first in the coalition ministry of Lord Aberdeen and then in the Liberal ministry of Lord Palmerston, are still famous.

Disraeli was the grandson of an Italian Jew, and was not brought up at any school or university. Notorious in his early manhood for the length of his ringlets, the quantity of his rings, and the extravagant taste of his waistcoats[1], he tried four times to get into Parliament before he eventually in 1837 succeeded, and he was laughed down when he made his maiden speech in the House of Commons[2]. His great chance for distinction had come over the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. He was the brain of the protectionists under the leadership first of Lord George Bentinck and then of Lord Derby, and, though disliked and distrusted at first by some of his own party, who regarded him as a political adventurer, he had shown conspicuous capacity in the long periods of Conservative opposition between 1846 and 1866.

The great duel between Disraeli and Gladstone absorbed political interest for the next few years, the former being, by the irony of history, the leader of the great aristocratic party in the State, and the latter of the more advanced Liberals. Both men had the gift, at all events in their later years, of arousing the enthusiasm and devotion of their respective supporters, and also, it must be added, of provoking the lively distrust of their respective opponents. Both were men of exceptional ability, who shone in spheres outside politics. Disraeli was a writer of romances, and perhaps the most successful of all writers of political novels. Gladstone's variety of tastes and interests was extraordinary, and made him an omnivorous reader, a productive writer, and the

[1] A lady who met him at a dinner party when he was a young man describes him as wearing a black velvet coat lined with satin, purple trousers with a gold band running down the outside seam, a scarlet waistcoat, and white gloves with several brilliant rings outside them!

[2] It was then that he made his famous remark: "I will sit down now, but the time will come when you will hear me".

best talker in London, so it was said, after Thomas Carlyle. Intense conviction, great courage, a noble voice and delivery, and a wonderful flow of language, combined to make Gladstone an orator who had few equals for the effect that he could produce on his hearers. Moreover, he was a statesman with almost superhuman powers of work and capacity for detail. Disraeli was a great coiner of telling phrases, and his speeches had an epigrammatic flavour which delighted his hearers, whilst he excelled in satire. He was a man of imagination, who could see further into the future than any of his party, and his predictions were often strikingly verified. "If men were attracted", wrote a distinguished historian, "to Gladstone by what he said, they were fascinated by an attempt to ascertain what Disraeli thought." The British people never quite understood Disraeli; he was the "mystery-man", as a bishop called him, of British politics, and this mysteriousness undoubtedly increased his power.

On Lord Derby's resignation at the beginning of 1868, Disraeli became prime minister. A general election was held in that year. Contrary to Disraeli's expectation, a great many of the new voters were on the Liberal side. Consequently the Liberals got a majority in the House of Commons, and before the end of the year Disraeli had resigned.

Disraeli's ministry, 1868.

The new ministry, under the leadership of *Gladstone*, held office for just over five years (1868–1874). It included *Lowe* as chancellor of the exchequer—a brilliant but indiscreet statesman who had been the leader of the Adullamites—and *Cardwell* as secretary for war. *Bright*, the leader of the advanced section, was at the board of trade, but he resigned in 1870. *Lord Clarendon* was foreign secretary till his death in 1870, when *Lord Granville*, who throughout led the Liberals in the House of Lords, succeeded him. Gladstone boasted with truth that this administration was not an idle one; indeed it made changes more important than any since that of Lord Grey in 1830. An Act was passed making education compulsory, and establishing school boards where necessary (p. 598). Religious tests were abolished for the holders of fellowships and scholarships at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Trade unions were legalized (p. 602). Under the

Gladstone's first ministry, 1868–74.

Ballot Act, secret voting was established at the election of members of Parliament.

Meanwhile Cardwell revolutionized the system of the British army. The purchase of officers' commissions was abolished. The system of short service—eventually fixed at seven years with the colours, followed by five in the reserve—was established, which ensured that our army should be composed of young men, and that the country in time of need should have, considering the smallness of its ordinary army, a large reserve. Finally, the linked battalion method was adopted, under which one battalion of a regiment was abroad and the other, nominally of equal strength, was in Britain. Ireland, however, obtained by far the largest share of Gladstone's attention, the Irish Church Act and the first Land Act being passed at this time, whilst fresh disorders required new Coercion Acts (p. 647).

Cardwell's army reform.

Ireland.

"The accomplishment of reforms", it has been said, "invariably reduces the ranks of the reformers." The more timid thought such incessant legislative activity as Gladstone's Government displayed disturbing and wanted repose. The Government's bark frightened the more moderate, whilst its bite, partially muzzled as it was by the House of Lords and the old Whig contingent in the cabinet, was not severe enough to satisfy the more extreme elements in the Liberal party. In particular the Nonconformist section was displeased with the religious settlement in the Elementary Education Act. Minor proposals had again alienated popular sympathies.[1] The foreign policy of the Government, especially under Lord Granville, had been somewhat dilatory and unenterprising. Our mediation in the Franco-German war of 1870, our policy towards Russia when she repudiated the treaty which she had made after the Crimean War, and our negotiations with the United States of America over the "Alabama" claims had been, if discreet, decidedly unadventurous (pp. 667 and 669–70).

Government becomes unpopular.

The Conservatives had, in Disraeli, a leader who took full

[1] For instance, a proposed tax on matches had led to a protest and a procession from the match-workers of East London, who asserted that they would be thrown out of work, and a Licensing Bill of the Government, it was said, "would rob the poor man of his beer".

advantage of these elements of dissatisfaction. He said of Gladstone's Irish administration that "he legalized confiscation, consecrated sacrilege, and condoned high treason". He compared the occupants of the treasury bench (upon which members of the Government sat) to a "range of exhausted volcanoes", and epitomized their policy as one of "plundering and blundering". He exhorted the country to realize the greatness of its imperial destinies, and summed up the Conservative policy "as being the maintenance of our institutions, the preservation of our empire, and the improvement of the condition of the people".

Disraeli's ministry, 1874–80.

In 1874 a cabinet disagreement induced Gladstone quite suddenly, and to the surprise even of some of his own colleagues in the ministry, to dissolve Parliament. In the election which followed the Conservatives were triumphant. Gladstone resigned, and Disraeli came into office with a majority of fifty over Liberals and Irish combined. For the first time since Peel's ministry of 1841 the Conservatives were really in power as well as in office. They had a majority large enough to prevent accidents in a division, but not large enough to encourage independence on the part of individual members. They had in *Disraeli*[1] a leader of great brilliance, and one who succeeded in obtaining the confidence of the Crown to a greater degree than any other prime minister except Lord Melbourne.[2] They possessed competent ministers in the House of Lords with *Lord Derby* (the son of the former Conservative prime minister) as foreign secretary and *Lord Salisbury* as secretary for India, and in the House of Commons with *Mr. Cross* as home secretary and *Sir Stafford Northcote* as chancellor of the exchequer.

The Liberal and Irish opposition.

Moreover, the opposition was weak and divided. Gladstone retired for the time into private life, to make occasional reappearances that were somewhat embarrassing to the leader who succeeded him, *Lord Hartington*, afterwards *Duke of Devonshire;* and there were frequent disagreements between the Whigs, whom the latter represented, and the Radicals, amongst whom *Mr. Chamberlain* was the most

[1] In 1876 Disraeli became Earl of Beaconsfield and went to the House of Lords.

[2] Comparing his attitude towards Queen Victoria with Gladstone's, Disraeli once said, "Gladstone treats the queen like a public department; I treat her like a woman". The queen spoke of Disraeli, after his death, as her "dear, great friend".

forceful personality. The Conservatives, however, found great difficulty in the conduct of business in Parliament, owing to the obstructive tactics which were developed by the Irish party, and which necessitated new rules for the course of debate. The aim of the Irish was to concentrate attention on the Irish question and the demand for Home Rule by obstructing all business which was not of an Irish character, and incidentally, perhaps, to foster the feeling for Home Rule by combining with it a desire for the absence of the Irish members from the Imperial Parliament. An endless amount of time was scientifically wasted in discussions about nothing in particular, and one Irish member spoke no less than five hundred times in one session.[1]

Nevertheless, despite obstructive tactics, the Conservative Government redeemed their pledges with regard to the improvement in the condition of the people by passing some useful laws affecting public health and factories, the legal position of trade unions, and the safety of sailors in merchant vessels, the transfer of land, and the construction of artisan dwellings, thus developing that course of legislation to which reference has been made in the last chapter. But the chief interest of Disraeli's ministry arose from its conduct of foreign and imperial affairs. In Africa and in India events of importance took place. With 1876 public attention was absorbed by affairs in the near East. "*The Bulgarian atrocities*" perpetrated by the Turks, sufficiently horrible in themselves but magnified by the press, drew Gladstone from his retirement. The intervention of Russia led to a series of critical negotiations, which finally ended in the *Treaty of Berlin* in 1878, a treaty which, securing, as many thought, in Disraeli's phrase, "peace with honour", won much popular support (p. 671).

Policy of Disraeli's Government.

Two years after the Treaty of Berlin, in 1880, Lord Beaconsfield, having been in office for six and a half years, appealed to the country at a general election. He was decisively beaten, and retired from office. The causes of his defeat may be briefly summarized. If Glad-

Causes of Beaconsfield's fall, 1880.

[1] The tactics of the Irish party have been humorously summarized by a member of it as being:—1. To work in Government time. 2. To aid anybody to spend Government time. 3. Whenever you see a bill, block it. 4. Whenever you see a raw, rub it.

stone's imperial policy had been too supine, that of Beaconsfield had been too adventurous. Moreover, the Liberals were more scientifically organized in the constituencies, owing in a large degree to the energy of Mr. Chamberlain. Some bad harvests and the depression of trade told—as, most unreasonably, such things do—against the party that was in power. The "swing of the pendulum", or, as Lord Salisbury once called it, "the great law of the pendulum", was another element adverse to the Conservatives. But, above all else, Gladstone's re-entry into politics had filled the Liberals with enthusiasm. Though over seventy years of age, he showed most amazing energy in his famous campaigns, especially in his own constituency, Midlothian. Wherever he went, his personality commanded victory; and when the elections came, the Liberals had converted a minority of 50 into a majority over the Conservatives of 166 if the Irish Nationalist members were included in it, and into a majority of 106 if they were not.

Gladstone's second ministry, 1880–5, and its difficulties.

On Lord Beaconsfield's resignation, the queen sent for Lord Hartington, nominally the Liberal leader, to form a ministry; but it was clear that no one but Gladstone could now lead the party. Lord Hartington accordingly refused to become prime minister, and Gladstone was summoned, and formed his *second* administration. During the next five years a succession of difficult crises arose, of which Gladstone's ministry had to attempt a solution. Ireland, as usual, occupied a large share of the public attention. The obstructive tactics of Parnell—the Irish Nationalist leader—and his followers necessitated fresh rules of procedure in the House of Commons; the agrarian outrages required new measures of coercion; and then followed, in 1882, the tragic murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish (p. 648). In South Africa, a peace which gave the Boers local independence under our nominal suzerainty was made soon after the British disaster at Majuba (1880). In West Africa, the "grab" for territory, initiated by Germany, began in 1884. In Egypt, the absence of any definite policy led first to the bombardment of Alexandria in 1882, and then to the death of Gordon at Khartoum in 1885. In India, the dangerous movements of the Russians against Afghanistan almost

brought about a war in 1884. In the midst of all these difficulties the legislative output of the Government was not considerable. Gladstone, however, passed in 1881 a second *Irish Land Bill* of enormous complexity; and, through an understanding with the opposition, brought about by the Queen, passed the *Reform Bill* of 1884, which gave the vote to the agricultural and unskilled labourers and rearranged the constituencies.

During these troublous years Gladstone's own cabinet was not harmonious. In ability the ministry was strong. The *Duke of Argyll* and *Lord Spencer*, both able men, belonged to it. *Lord Hartington* was at the India Office, and *Lord Granville* at the Foreign Office. The more advanced sections in the party were represented by *John Bright* and *Mr. Chamberlain.* The Speaker, however, expressed the opinion that it would be a difficult team to drive, and so it proved. The old Whigs and the new Radicals contained elements too diverse for a satisfactory combination. The former, like political boa constrictors, as someone said of Lord Hartington, had to swallow instalment after instalment of the diet provided by the latter, a process which soon led to the retirement of the Duke of Argyll. This was not the only resignation; disagreements about Irish coercion led to that of Forster, the Irish secretary, and about Egyptian affairs, to that of Bright. Threats of such a course were plentiful; it is said, indeed, that within a period of one month nine of the cabinet, for one reason or another, contemplated resignation. Moreover, though the official opposition, under Sir Stafford Northcote (Lord Beaconsfield died in 1881), was somewhat feeble in its criticism, a small group of four independent Conservatives, calling themselves the "Fourth Party",[1] of whom Lord Randolph Churchill and Mr. Balfour afterwards became the most famous, made pungent and unceasing attacks upon the policy pursued by the Government.

Finally, in 1885, Gladstone was beaten on a small point in the House of Commons, and resigned. He was succeeded by the *Marquis of Salisbury*, who had served in Disraeli's Government, first as secretary of state for India, and then, on Lord Derby's resignation in 1878, as foreign secretary. He was in

[1] The Irish party was the third party.

power, however, for only a short time, as, in the general election which ensued in 1886, Gladstone was again successful, and returned to office. But Ireland was to be Gladstone's undoing. He had gradually come to the conviction that the only solution of the Irish question lay in allowing the Irish to have *Home Rule*—a Parliament of their own, subject, in such matters as customs duties, the army and navy, and foreign policy, to the Imperial supremacy. His opponents maintained that his final decision in favour of this policy was due to the fact that a combination of the Conservative and the Irish members in the new House of Commons exactly balanced the Liberal members, and that therefore, without Irish support, his position was extremely precarious. But, whatever his motives, he produced the Home Rule Bill, with a result that was disastrous to his own party. Many of his chief supporters deserted him, including Lord Hartington, Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. Bright. Opponents of the bill feared that under the bill the Protestant and progressive minority that lived in the north of Ireland would be sacrificed to the Roman Catholics, and that Home Rule for Ireland was but a stepping-stone to complete separation. As a consequence the bill was thrown out in the House of Commons, amidst great excitement, by a majority of 30 votes. Gladstone, on appealing to the country, was beaten, and Lord Salisbury returned to office.

Lord Salisbury, 1885–6; Gladstone, 1886, and the Home Rule Bill.

2. 1886-1911, Recent Affairs

The last period in our review of domestic politics is from 1886 to 1911. The events and personalities of these twenty-five years are too near for historical judgments upon them to be crystallized; and the briefest summary of the facts must suffice.

First of all, a word must be said as to the fortunes of parties. The Home Rule movement shattered for a time the Liberal party. It is true that they returned to power in 1892. Mr. Gladstone had continued to lead the party, and formed his fourth administration in that year. But he retired from office in 1894, soon after the House of Lords

The disruption of the Liberal party; Liberals in power, 1892–5.

had thrown out his second Home Rule Bill. Lord Rosebery became prime minister, but resigned office, after a defeat in the House of Commons, in 1895. Dissensions in the party subsequently led to the retirement of Lord Rosebery from the leadership, and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman succeeded. The South African War of 1899 still further increased the disagreements of the party; and not till the war was over did a revival of Liberal fortunes take place.

Meantime, the opponents of Home Rule—who called themselves Unionists—consisted of three elements: there were the Conservatives under Lord Salisbury, the Whigs under Lord Hartington (who became Duke of Devonshire in 1891), and a Radical section under Mr. Chamberlain, the last two elements calling themselves Liberal-Unionists. At first there was only an informal co-operation between Conservatives and Liberal-Unionists, and the latter refused to join the former in office. Consequently *Lord Salisbury's administration* of 1886 was, at its formation, purely Conservative; it included Lord Randolph Churchill and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. W. H. Smith and Mr. Balfour. Lord Randolph Churchill, the chancellor of the exchequer and leader of the House of Commons, who had an immense hold upon the country, in consequence of the vigour of his oratory and his ideals of social reform, suddenly resigned, in 1887, because he disapproved of the additional expenditure proposed for the army and navy. His place as chancellor of the exchequer was taken by Mr. Goschen, a Liberal-Unionist of great ability, whilst Mr. W. H. Smith became leader of the house. On Mr. Smith's death, in 1891, Mr. Balfour, who had achieved a great reputation in consequence of his pacification of Ireland, succeeded him.

Development of Unionist party.

Lord Salisbury, 1886–92.

Lord Salisbury remained in office till 1892, and was then succeeded, as we have seen, by Mr. Gladstone. But he became prime minister for the third time in 1895. The alliance of the Unionist elements now became a coalition. A strong administration was formed which included Mr. Balfour and Sir M. Hicks-Beach, the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Lansdowne, Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Goschen. On Lord Salisbury's retirement in 1902 (followed by

Lord Salisbury, 1895–1902; Mr. Balfour, 1902–5.

that of Mr. Goschen and Sir M. Hicks-Beach), *Mr. Balfour*, Lord Salisbury's nephew, became prime minister. Very shortly afterwards, in 1903, *Mr. Chamberlain* proposed a policy of *Tariff Reform*, with the object, at one and the same time, of encouraging home manufactures and of drawing our Imperial ties closer through a system of preferential tariffs with the colonies. These proposals broke up the Unionist party; Mr. Chamberlain left office in order to advocate his policy with greater freedom, whilst the Duke of Devonshire and others resigned because Mr. Balfour sympathized with that policy. The dissensions in the Unionist ranks combined with other causes to lead to an overwhelming victory for the Liberals in 1906, and the long Unionist rule came to an end.

Liberals return to power, 1906.

Of the later history it is too early to say anything at all. *Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman* formed a Liberal administration, and on his resignation, shortly before his death, in 1908, *Mr. Asquith* succeeded as prime minister. The most significant feature of the new Parliament of 1906 lay perhaps in the appearance of the new Labour group of some fifty members. The Irish Home Rule party already formed one section of some eighty members independent of the two great parties in the State, and the growth of another may lead to important developments in our party system. It is possible, therefore, for this as well as for other reasons, that the year 1906 may form the beginning of a new era in the history of our politics. The period since 1906 has been one of considerable legislative activity. But the House of Lords rejected some of the chief Liberal measures, and finally rejected the Budget at the close of 1909. Mr. Asquith at once dissolved Parliament and a fresh election was held, with the result that the Liberals remained in power, but with a majority of only two over the Unionists. The support, however, of the Irish and Labour parties gave them a majority of 120, which enabled them to re-pass the Budget in the House of Commons, and it was then accepted by the House of Lords. Mr. Asquith brought forward at the same time proposals for curtailing the powers of the House of Lords, but the death of King Edward VII in May, 1910, led to a truce between the political parties, and to an attempt at effect-

ing a compromise as to the constitution and powers of the House of Lords in future.

A long series of conferences between the leaders of the two parties failed, however, to produce a settlement. Mr. Asquith then dissolved Parliament again, and appealed to the constituencies to support his proposals with regard to the House of Lords. The result of the General Election, held in December, 1910, was that the Coalition, composed of the Liberal, the Irish Nationalist, and the Labour parties, had almost identically the same majority in the House of Commons as in the previous Parliament. The *Parliament Bill*—as the Bill containing Mr. Asquith's proposals was called—was accordingly passed through the House of Commons. The House of Lords, then, made considerable amendments, which the House of Commons refused to accept. The king, however, on the advice of his ministers, agreed to create a sufficient number of peers to force the Bill, if necessary, in its original form through the House of Lords. As a consequence, Lord Lansdowne, the leader of the Opposition, and the bulk of his followers abstained from voting when it became clear that insistence on the amendments would lead to an enormous creation of peers; and though a considerable number of Unionist peers refused to follow their leader's example, the Bill was finally passed by a majority of 17. Under the terms of the Parliament Act, the House of Lords is deprived of the power it formerly held of rejecting a Money Bill; and if any other Bill is passed by the House of Commons in three successive sessions, and is rejected by the House of Lords in each of these sessions, it becomes law, notwithstanding its rejection for the third time by the House of Lords, so long as a period of two years has elapsed since the second reading of the Bill in the House of Commons in the first of these sessions.

The Parliament Act of 1911.

Of other features of the twenty-five years since 1886 something may be said. First, there has been a growth in the respect for the authority of the Crown. This was due partly to the affection inspired for the queen, especially after the Jubilee of 1887, and the Diamond Jubilee of 1897, when her long reign was celebrated with great enthusiasm, and partly to the

Influence of Crown.

confidence fostered by the shrewdness and tact of her successor; and partly again to the increased knowledge of the Victorian era through the publication of letters and biographies which revealed the part played by the Crown in our national affairs—a much greater part than was popularly supposed. Along with that has come an increased feeling of pride in, and of responsibility for the Empire, combined with much more enlightened notions as to its value—due to a variety of causes which are dealt with elsewhere (p. 673). As a consequence, foreign and imperial affairs absorbed much attention during this period, especially during the South African War of 1899–1903. Lastly, there has been, during these twenty-five years, and especially in the latter portion of them, a good deal of unrest amongst the manual workers of the country. The relations between Capital and Labour have been uneasy, and have led to frequent strikes and still more frequent threats of them. The Board of Trade has often intervened with success in settling the differences between the employers and their workmen, and it seems not improbable that the Government in the near future may be given fuller powers in order to prevent, if possible, these disastrous Industrial Wars.

Apart from Ireland and the passions engendered by the Home Rule question, which led to a free fight in the House of Commons during the debate on the second Home Rule Bill in 1893, politics for the greater part of this period were not very exciting. Solid progress was, however, made, and the legislation, as has been explained in the last chapter, partook of a paternal character, enlarging as it did the sphere of State interference in many directions. Constitutionally, the most important developments took place in local government. Ever since the Tudors, the local administration had been in the hands of the Justices of the Peace, who were appointed by the Lord-lieutenant of each county, and who were usually selected from the local gentry. To the Justices of the Peace are still left petty criminal business and the licensing of public-houses and inns; but by a succession of laws passed between 1888 and 1894 the control of such matters as highways and bridges, housing and public health, was handed over to popularly elected County, District, and Parish Councils,

Development of local government.

subject to the supervision of the central authority, the Local Government Board. The tendency of later legislation has been to increase the functions of County Councils; the superintendence of education has, for instance, been handed over to them, and it is not improbable that in the near future the maintenance of the poor may also fall to their care. With these changes, the transformation of the government of Britain into a democracy may be said to be almost completed, though the sovereignty of the democracy is still somewhat modified through the checks imposed by the existence of the Crown and the House of Lords.

XLVII. History of Ireland since 1815

Ireland, it will be seen from this brief review, had a large share in the party politics of the nineteenth century. The Catholic Emancipation question almost broke up the Tory party in 1829, and the Irish famine, the immediate cause of the repeal of the Corn Laws, completely broke it up in 1846. Differences in the cabinet about the Irish question led to the retirement of Lord Grey in 1834, and to the wrecking of the Liberal party in 1886. Politics at times, as Lord Salisbury once said, have meant Ireland and nothing else. The energies of British statesmen have been absorbed in endeavours to find solutions for Irish grievances, or in devising Acts—of which over sixty were passed between 1800 and 1885—for dealing with Irish disorders.

Influence of Ireland upon party politics.

For thirty years after the battle of Waterloo *Daniel O'Connell* is the great figure in Irish history. He was a Roman Catholic, and made a great reputation, in his early days, as a criminal lawyer. Subsequently he took up Irish politics, and became the undisputed leader of the Irish people. As an orator to a mass meeting he was unsurpassed; he could, it was said, convulse an audience with laughter, move it to tears, or rouse it to the most passionate excitement. A humorous, good-natured, hospitable man, he had many elements of nobility, if also of weakness, in his character. His influence

Daniel O'Connell.

was nearly always used in favour of constitutional agitation and against agrarian outrages, and still more against armed rebellion, whilst his loyalty to the Crown was unshaken, and, in Queen Victoria's reign, even enthusiastic.

It may be remembered that Roman Catholics in 1815 were still excluded from sitting in Parliament and from holding various offices. O'Connell's first efforts were directed to getting these disabilities removed. In 1823 he formed, in alliance with the Irish priests, a *Catholic Association*, which had branches in nearly every parish, and to the expenses of which the great mass of Catholics contributed. Through this association the Catholics in Ireland were organized. They began to vote only for Protestants who were in favour of emancipation. Meetings took place all over the country, and on one day in 1828 no fewer than two hundred were held. Finally O'Connell, though a Catholic, stood for County Clare as a candidate for Parliament, and won such enthusiastic support that he was elected without opposition. Of course he could not take his seat, but he announced his intention of standing for every constituency where a vacancy occurred. The excitement increased, and Ireland seemed to be on the verge of revolution. Wellington's Tory ministry felt that they must yield, and the Catholic Emancipation Bill was at last passed in 1829. O'Connell consequently entered Parliament, and took a prominent part in the debates preceding the Reform Bill of 1832.

The Catholic Association, 1823-9.

Disraeli, in his early days, once summed up the Irish problem as being that of "a starving people, an alien Church, and an absentee aristocracy". The alien Church was the next subject attacked by O'Connell after the Reform Bill had been passed. The great mass of the population in Ireland was Catholic; yet the Protestant Church was the established one, and Catholic peasants had to pay tithes for its support. A war was waged against the tithes. Tithe collectors and even tithe payers were attacked and sometimes murdered. A stringent Coercion Act[1] was passed by the Whig Government in

The tithe war, 1833-5.

[1] A Coercion Act may be defined as a statute which applies only to some specified portion of the British Isles, and which suspends ordinary constitutional liberties, arming the police with powers unknown to the ordinary law.

1833, one clause of which forbade people to be out-of-doors in disturbed districts between sunset and sunrise. The disorders, however, still continued. But when *Lord Melbourne* came into office in 1835 a sudden calm occurred. A tacit understanding was arrived at, and O'Connell supported the Government. The ministry, in return, ruled Ireland in a sympathetic spirit, largely through the efforts of Drummond, the under-secretary, whilst O'Connell's influence was seen in regard to the policy pursued and the bestowal of patronage. A law was passed by which tithes were to be paid by the landlord and not by the tenant; and the immediate grievance felt by the peasant was thus met. Irish municipal government was reformed, and an Irish Poor Law system introduced.

With the advent of *Peel* into power, in 1841, O'Connell was again in active opposition. He had previously advocated the Repeal of the Union of 1800, and he now threw his whole energies into an agitation to secure the independence of Ireland. The rule of a government directly dependent upon an Irish Parliament, instead of the rule of a viceroy and a chief secretary dependent upon a British cabinet and a British Parliament, has been, since that time, the chief demand of the Irish party. O'Connell addressed monster meetings all over Ireland—it is estimated that there were at least a quarter of a million persons present at one held on the Hill of Tara.[1] The agitation was assuming formidable dimensions—when suddenly Peel struck. Arrangements had been made for O'Connell to address what was designed to be the most gigantic of all meetings. The day before that fixed for the meeting, Peel forbade it by proclamation, after having made elaborate preparations to enforce the prohibition if necessary. O'Connell yielded and countermanded the meeting. Then Peel prosecuted O'Connell for his seditious speeches, and obtained his conviction and imprisonment (1843). Though the judges in the House of Lords subsequently declared the sentence an unjust one, O'Connell's power was broken. He lost touch with the more extreme element,

O'Connell's Repeal agitation, 1841–3.

[1] No disorder ever occurred at any of these meetings, except that on one occasion the retiring crowd trampled down the stall of an old woman who sold ginger-bread. The meetings generally terminated with enthusiastic cheers for the queen.

known as the "Young Ireland" party, for having yielded to Peel, and died, a broken man, in 1847.

But meanwhile, before O'Connell died, the *famine of 1846* (p. 622) had come upon a "starving people". The holdings in Ireland were minutely subdivided, and the means of subsistence were at all times but a bare sufficiency. The failure of the potato left the great mass of the population face to face with starvation.[1] The result on the Corn Laws and on British politics has already been explained. In Ireland itself it had three results. First, a great shrinkage of the population occurred, due partly to the deaths from starvation, and partly to the emigration to America, which has been constant ever since that time. The population of Ireland, which was eight millions in 1841, was only four millions in 1901. Secondly, the Government passed an *Encumbered Estates Act*, by which land might be more easily sold, hoping thus to force impoverished landowners to sell their land, and to encourage peasants to buy it. But the consequence was that in many parts of Ireland a new class of landlords arose, who bought the land and then evicted the small tenants, converting their holdings into pasture farms.[2] This policy of "clearances", as it was called, was not entirely confined to new purchasers; but, as many of the old holdings were much too small, and pasture paid much better than arable, there is some little justification for this action of the landlords.

The famine of 1846 and its results.

Thirdly, the famine and the consequent evictions led to fresh outrages in Ireland, to the passing, therefore, of fresh coercion bills, and finally, in 1848—the year of revolutions—to an armed insurrection under a leader called Smith O'Brien, an insurrection which came to an ignominious end through the defeat of its leaders in a cabbage garden. Eleven years later, in 1859, the extremists started, in order to enforce Irish independence, the Fenian Society, a seditious organization, which had for its object the establishment of an Irish republic.[3]

[1] The corn crop, however, did not fail in Ireland, but much of the wheat was exported. It was this that made the Irish so angry, as they felt that the Government ought, in consequence of the famine, to have prohibited the export of corn. The Irish parliament had done this on more than one occasion in the eighteenth century.

[2] No less than one-sixth of the land of Ireland was sold under this Act, which was a heavy blow to the old Irish gentry.

[3] The years during which the Fenian Society was most active were between 1863 and 1867.

A new stage was reached in the Irish problem when *Gladstone* came into office in 1869. His first act was the *disestablishment of the Irish Church*; its connection with the State was severed, and some of its endowments were devoted to secular purposes, though the reorganized Protestant Church kept the greater part. His second measure was an attempt to deal with the land question. The land system in Ireland was quite different from that in England. In Ireland, the landlords were often absentees. The tenants and not the landlords were responsible for the buildings and the gates, and, as a rule, made the improvements. Yet, despite this, the great mass of the tenants—except in Ulster—were merely tenants-at-will, who could be expelled at any time, and they did not receive any compensation for their improvements; on the contrary, it occasionally happened that their rents were raised as a consequence. The *Land Act* of 1870 tried to remedy this state of affairs by making the landlord pay compensation both to outgoing tenants who had made improvements increasing the value of the farm, and to those who were evicted from their holdings for causes other than the non-payment of rent or the refusal of reasonable conditions of tenure.

Disestablishment of Irish Church, 1869, and First Land Act, 1870.

Yet still the Irish remained unsatisfied, and Gladstone had to pass another Coercion Bill to preserve order. During the rule of his successor, Disraeli, a new personality appeared in Irish politics. In 1879 *Parnell* became the leader of the Irish party. His mother was an American, and his father an Irish Protestant squire. Educated in England, he went into Irish politics, and entered Parliament in 1875. A hater of England, he became, by his abilities and the force of his will, the despotic ruler of the excitable Irish party, though he himself was of a silent disposition, and held aloof from his followers. His policy may be briefly explained. From the Irish in America he collected, by periodical visits, funds to support his party. In Parliament, his object, as has been stated, was to force the new

Parnell.

In 1866 one thousand two hundred armed Fenians from the United States invaded Canada, but were quickly repulsed. A year later the Fenians designed to capture the fort at Chester, but the plan was discovered. An attempt to release some Fenian prisoners led to a policeman being murdered at Manchester. In connection with this three Fenians were hanged, and were known in Ireland as "the Manchester martyrs" (1867).

policy of Home Rule, or, in other words, the old policy of Repeal, upon the attention of British electors by obstructing all business which was not connected with Ireland. In Ireland he made an alliance with the *Land League*. This league had been started in 1871 to agitate for further reforms in the land system. It used all forms of intimidation, including the new weapon of the *Boycott*—the refusal to work for, or supply anything to, anyone who opposed the policy of the league or who took the farms of evicted tenants.[1]

Gladstone's ministry of 1880–5 had to meet the full force of the new Irish leader and his tactics. A second *Land Act*, introduced by Gladstone, was passed in 1881. By this Act the landlords were converted into mere rent receivers; Land Courts were created to settle the rents that were to be paid, whilst tenants were given fixity of tenure, and could not, as long as they observed certain conditions, be removed. Even this Act did not satisfy the Irish. Refusals to pay rent were accompanied by violence and intimidation, and Gladstone was forced to pass a most stringent Coercion Act, and finally to imprison Parnell and other chiefs of the party. And then, just after Parnell had arrived at an understanding with Gladstone, and had been released, occurred the horrible assassination, in the Phœnix Park, of Lord Frederick Cavendish, who had recently been appointed the Irish secretary (1882). Moreover, various dynamite outrages were perpetrated, and fresh Coercion Acts were the result.

The Land Act of 1881, and the Phœnix Park murder, 1882.

In 1886 Gladstone himself, as has been related, became a supporter of Home Rule. The effects of his conversion upon the Liberal party have been already described, and of the later history of Ireland the time has not yet come to say anything. The Unionist Governments of 1886 to 1892 and 1895 to 1905 by firm administration succeeded—despite occasional outbreaks—in restoring order in Ireland. They were aided by the fact that the Irish party became hopelessly divided in 1890, when a divorce suit in

Home Rule and Irish legislation, 1886–1909.

[1] The first victim of this policy was a Captain Boycott—hence the name. Parnell summarized the policy to be pursued by saying that if a tenant took a farm from which someone else had been evicted, he was "to be isolated from his kind as if he were a leper of old".

which Parnell was implicated led to more than half his followers renouncing his leadership; though of late years the party has been again reunited under Mr. Redmond.[1] Meantime many reforms were passed. Railways were encouraged. Popular local government was introduced in 1898. Above all, the purchase by tenants of their holdings, already encouraged by the State, was enormously facilitated by an Act passed in 1903, under which the State may advance money to tenants and give a bonus to the landlord for selling his property, and by another, passed in 1909, by which the sale of the land was, under certain conditions, made compulsory. The process of converting the Irish tenant into an Irish proprietor is not yet complete; but the end is perhaps not far off. Home Rule still remains the objective of the Irish party; and the proposals of the Liberal Government in 1907 to extend the control of the Irish over their own affairs were rejected by the Irish party as an inadequate substitute for the complete self-government which they demand.

XLVIII. Great Britain and Europe, 1815-78

The relations of Great Britain since 1815 with other European States must form the subject of our next chapter. The large share that Great Britain had taken in the overthrow of Napoleon and in the subsequent negotiations at the *Congress of Vienna* (p. 560) had given her a foremost position amongst European powers, and for over fifty years—from 1815 till the Treaty of Berlin in 1878—the attention of British foreign secretaries was absorbed in various crises that arose on the Continent of Europe. In order, therefore, that British policy may be understood, it is necessary briefly to explain the main lines of European political development up till 1878.

[1] In the Parliaments of 1910 and 1911, however, Mr. W. O'Brien led a party hostile to Mr. Redmond.

There have been two movements of supreme importance in the nineteenth century. *First*, there has been a movement for *Self-government.* The rulers of many of the States of Europe after 1815 were reactionary and despotic, and hated and distrusted all Liberal aspirations, which they labelled as dangerous and anarchical. In many parts of Europe liberty, as we in Great Britain understand it, was unknown; there was no liberty of speech or of writing; public meetings were forbidden, arbitrary arrests frequent, and Parliaments—where they existed—powerless. The growing desire felt by the people for greater individual freedom and for a greater control of the government led at various times, and especially during the years 1830–2 and 1848–52, to agitations and revolutions, which were sometimes suppressed and sometimes successful. Closely allied with the movement for self-government there has been, *secondly*, a movement for the realization of the idea of *Nationality.* People of the same race or speaking the same language, possessing common traditions or a common history, have shown a passion to be united and to be freed from the control of alien rulers, a passion which led to the independence of Belgium in 1830, to the War of Italian Liberation in 1859, and to the final union of Germany under the leadership of Prussia in 1871.

Self-governing and National movements in Europe.

It was this idea of nationality as well as the oppressiveness of the Turkish Government which caused the frequent revolts of Christians in south-eastern Europe against the Sultan of Turkey, revolts leading to the independence of Greece in 1829, and to the practical independence of the various Balkan States as a result of the Treaty of Berlin in 1878. These revolts are connected with the *third* great subject that has occupied since 1815 the attention of European statesmen, the *Eastern Question* as it is called, due to the slow dissolution of the Turkish Empire and the conflicting interests of European nations which resulted.

The Eastern Question.

What was the attitude of Great Britain on these subjects? Both persecuted Liberals and oppressed Nationalities looked to her for sympathy and advice, for mediation, and at times even for armed assistance. The people of Great Britain gave their

sympathy, and individual Englishmen expended their money and risked their lives in supporting the twin causes of liberty and nationality. The Government of Great Britain was prolific in advice, and not infrequently very valuable advice; and it sometimes attempted, with success, to combine with other powers in mediating between the combatants. But since 1815 a desire for peace and a horror of European entanglements which might lead to war have been the chief characteristics of British statesmen—with the important exception of Lord Palmerston; the policy of the British Government has been therefore on the whole pacific, and it has shrunk, wherever possible, from armed assistance.

Attitude of Great Britain, 1815–78.

On the Eastern Question British opinion has been divided, and not always consistent. British sympathies on behalf of the oppressed Christians have been counterbalanced by a very lively distrust of Russian political designs in the Balkan peninsula. It was thought that Russia supported these Christians—of whom, as they belonged to the Greek Church, the czar regarded himself as the natural protector—chiefly in order to attain what was supposed to be the great object of her policy, the acquisition of Constantinople, and with it the control of the eastern Mediterranean and a road to India. Moreover, the courage of the Turk in warfare has aroused the admiration of the British race, and has encouraged a belief in the prospective regeneration of the Turks and a hopefulness in the future of their rule.

1. A Period of Comparative Peace, 1815–54

We must now turn to the details of the history. *Alexander I*, the Czar of Russia (died 1825), who combined great piety and feelings of universal benevolence with strong ideas of the divine right of monarchs, and *Metternich*, a cynical statesman, who controlled the policy of Austria till 1848, were the chief personalities in European politics after 1815. Metternich regarded all constitutional movements—all agitations having for their object the greater control of the government by the people—with hostility, and tried to persuade

Coercive policy of Czar and Metternich, 1815–23.

the other European powers to combine in suppressing them in whatever country they might occur. He convinced the czar of the danger and iniquity of all Liberal principles; the King of Prussia, at this period, always followed Metternich's lead; and the King of France, after some hesitation, acquiesced in the policy of coercion. Great Britain, on the other hand, first under *Lord Castlereagh* (foreign secretary, 1815–22), and then more decidedly under *Canning* (foreign secretary, 1822–7), was opposed to the policy of European States intervening in each other's internal affairs. But Great Britain desired peace above everything else, and her army was so much reduced after the war that she could not take a very strong line. Consequently when the Austrians occupied Naples in 1821, and the French invaded Spain in 1823 in order to preserve the thrones of two worthless despots whose arbitrary government had produced popular insurrections, Great Britain did nothing effective to stop them.

Canning, however, sent to our old ally, Portugal, first a squadron of ships and then an army of soldiers, and thus prevented that kingdom from falling into the hands of the reactionary and absolutist party. He decided also to recognize the independence of the Spanish colonies in America (Mexico, Peru, and Chili), which had been rebelling against the mother country for some time. "I called in", he said, "the New World to redress the balance of the Old." If French influence was to predominate in Spain, and absolutist principles were to be supreme, it was to be "in Spain without the Indies", as Canning expressed it.

Policy of Canning, 1822–7.

But Canning during his period of office as foreign secretary was chiefly occupied with the Eastern Question. The Greeks rose for independence against the Turks in 1821, and a long war ensued. Into the details of the *Greek War of Independence* (*1821–9*), which "offers", as has been said, "a chequered picture of patriotism and corruption, of desperate valour and weak irresolution", we have no space to enter. The memory of the great achievements of the Greeks in ancient days, and the gratitude felt for their influence upon European civilization, caused opinion in Great Britain to be strongly upon the side of the Greeks, and led to

Greek War of Independence, 1821–9.

Austrian Dominions
Prussian Dominions
Boundary of the German Confederation
EUROPE
in 1815
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
RUSSIA
POLAND
GALICIA
PRUSSIA
HUNGARY
Buda-Pesth
Vienna
MOLDAVIA
WALLACHIA
BULGARIA
ROUMELIA
BOSNIA
SERVIA
HERZEGOVINA
MONTENEGRO
ALBANIA
TURKISH DOMINIONS
Black Sea
Sea of Azof
Crimea
Sebastopol
Constantinople
Sea of Marmora
Smyrna
Cyprus
Acre
Alexandria
EGYPT
SYRIA
Crete
Navarino
MOREA
Malta (British)
SICILY
Palermo
Naples
NAPLES
Sardinia
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
Corsica (to France)
Rome
STATES
TUSCANY
Florence
Turin
SWITZERLAND
Milan
Venice
Mantua
Modena
Parma
Genoa
Lyons
FRANCE
Paris
Seine
Loire
Rhone
Ebro
Madrid
Toledo
Tagus
Lisbon
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
Gibraltar (British)
MOROCCO
ALGIERS
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
English Channel
London
IRELAND
North Sea
Baltic Sea
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Hanover
Hamburg
Berlin
Dresden
Prague
Bohemia
Danube
Rhine
Meuse
Sedan
Metz
Brussels
NETHERLANDS
Amsterdam
Rotterdam
Vistula
Oder
Elbe
Weser
Ems

their cause being championed by British sympathizers. Amongst others, Lord Cochrane[1] and Sir Richard Church—the one on sea and the other on land—rendered great services; whilst Lord Byron, the poet, died fighting with the Greek forces. The British Government, however, was faced with a difficult situation. It was not unsympathetic towards the Greeks, but it was very fearful of Russian interference lest a general dissolution of the Turkish Empire should be the result. Eventually, in 1827, after the war had been in progress for some years, and the sultan had called in the assistance of Mehemet Ali, the formidable ruler of Egypt, Canning was successful in persuading Russia and France to agree with Great Britain in suggesting terms. The Greeks were to have self-government under Turkish suzerainty; and meanwhile an armistice was to be imposed upon the combatants whilst negotiations with this object were in progress.

A combined fleet of the allies, under Sir E. Codrington, had orders to enforce the armistice, and was sent to watch the Turco-Egyptian fleet, which was lying in the *Bay of Navarino*. As the admiral of the Turco-Egyptian fleet proved unwilling to observe the armistice, Codrington decided to make a demonstration, and sailed into the bay. Some shots fired by a Turkish ship led to a general engagement, and in a short time the bay was covered with the wreckage of Turkish and Egyptian ships (October, 1827).[2] The battle of Navarino, by destroying the sultan's fleet, secured Greek independence. But before it was fought, Canning was dead, and the *Duke of Wellington*, who became prime minister at the beginning of 1828, and who had regarded Canning's policy with distrust, looked upon the battle as an "untoward event",[3] and was opposed to any further measures of coercion against Turkey. Consequently

Battle of Navarino, 1827.

[1] Cochrane had already won great renown for his brilliant exploits in fighting the Spaniards on behalf of the independence of Chili, and the Portuguese on behalf of that of Brazil. In 1827 he was made admiral of the Greek fleet; but he met with little success—the Greek seamen, in his opinion, "were collectively the greatest cowards" he had ever met with.

[2] It is said that the Duke of Clarence (afterwards William IV), who was then lord high admiral, wrote privately to Codrington before the battle, "Go in, my dear Ned, and smash these —— Turks"; but there is no trace of such a letter, and it is unlikely that the duke, who was somewhat long-winded, would have expressed himself in words of one syllable. There is a tradition in the French service that the French sailors, when opportunity offered, fired during the battle into the Russian ships, to avenge the retreat from Moscow.

[3] It was called this in the "king's speech" at the opening of a new session of parliament.

Russia continued operations against Turkey single-handed, and eventually by a treaty in 1829, which was modified three years later, the independence of Greece was recognized by Turkey and by the great powers of Europe, whilst Russia acquired some increase of territory in Asia.

The year 1830 is an important one in the history of our foreign policy. In the first place, a series of revolutions and insurrections occurred. The series began during July in France, where *Charles X*, a despotic and reactionary king, who had succeeded Louis XVIII in 1824, was overthrown, and his cousin, *Louis Philippe*, who professed popular principles, was put on the throne. From France the movement spread to Belgium, to Italy, and to various parts of Germany, whilst the Poles revolted against Russia. The Revolutions of 1830.

In the second place, *Lord Palmerston* became our foreign secretary in 1830. For the next thirty-five years—until his death in 1865—Palmerston was, either as foreign secretary or as prime minister, the dominating personality in our foreign politics. The only intervals were from 1841–6 when he was out of office, from 1852–5 when he was home secretary, and during three other much shorter intervals of a few months each. A few words must be said as to the general principles of Lord Palmerston's policy. First, he was determined to maintain and to extend the influence of Great Britain, and to uphold her honour; and it was the feeling that this was the underlying purpose of his policy which caused his enormous popularity in his own country. Secondly, he wanted, as he said, "to get the affairs of Europe into trim", and he was in sympathy with all movements having for their object the establishment of independent nationalities or of constitutional governments similar to that of Great Britain. Thirdly, with regard to the Eastern Question he was a strong upholder of the integrity of the Turkish dominions, and believed, as he said in 1838, that given ten years of peace, Turkey would develop into a "respectable power", whilst he was highly suspicious as to Russian designs upon that country. Lord Palmerston's foreign policy.

Lord Palmerston's diplomatic methods were decidedly unconventional; the "Palmerstonian style", as it was called, was bluff and

somewhat boisterous and truculent, and was perhaps too careless of other nations' susceptibilities. But his activity was incessant. His advice, asked or unasked, was freely tendered to all foreign nations, and sometimes provoked no little irritation; whilst his sympathy with popular and nationalist agitations led to his being regarded as a firebrand by European rulers, and even at one time by Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort. Lord Palmerston was said to have had a genius for "fluking" at billiards, of which game he was very fond, and his opponents maintained that this was characteristic of his statesmanship as well; but, whether lucky or not, there is no doubt that Palmerston generally got his own way, and was very successful, at all events, from 1830–41 during his first tenure of the Foreign Office.

Palmerston's policy, 1830–41; Belgium, 1830.

The earliest opportunity for the display of Palmerston's statesmanship arose in regard to affairs in the *Netherlands*. Belgium had been joined to Holland by the treaty of 1815, but in 1830 the Belgians rose for their independence and demanded separation. The danger lay in the fact that the Belgians could rely on the sympathy of France, and that Belgium might become, though in theory independent, in practice a French province; and hence Great Britain might be again exposed to the danger against which she had struggled so persistently in the eighteenth century. Palmerston, seeing the impossibility of preserving the union of Belgium and Holland, frankly acknowledged the independence of Belgium, and finally, in conjunction with France, forced the Dutch to cease from resisting it; but he took care that *Leopold of Saxe-Coburg*, and not a member of the house of Bourbon, should be made king, and that France herself should obtain no territorial extension, not even, in his own words, "a cabbage garden or a vineyard". The choice of Leopold proved a notable success. He was a person of great sagacity and governed well; whilst, as son-in-law of Louis Philippe and uncle of Queen Victoria, he was able to play a considerable part in European politics.

Spain and Portugal.

The affairs of *Portugal and Spain* next occupied Palmerston's attention; in each of these countries a young queen, supported by a party of moderate reform, was opposed to an absolutist uncle, *Dom Miguel* in the one case and *Don*

Carlos in the other, supported by the reactionary parties. Palmerston supported the cause of the queens. He lent to the Queen of Portugal's party a seaman, Admiral Napier, who won in 1831, off Cape St. Vincent, a brilliant victory that secured the retirement of Dom Miguel; and he allowed a British legion of volunteers to go to Spain, where, however, the struggle was more protracted, and not till 1840 was Don Carlos finally evicted.

In regard to Belgium and Portugal, Palmerston had acted in alliance with France. But the combination was, in the Duke of Wellington's words, a "cardboard alliance", and fresh difficulties which arose over the Eastern question brought the two countries to the verge of war. *Mehemet Ali*, an Albanian, who had made himself master of Egypt, had taken up arms against his suzerain, the Sultan of Turkey, and occupied Syria in 1833. Some years later, in 1839, the sultan tried to recover Syria, but his army was defeated, and Mehemet Ali was in a position to march upon Constantinople. Palmerston, true to his policy of maintaining the Turkish Empire, supported the sultan, but Louis Philippe, anxious to win the favour of Mehemet Ali and to extend and develop the influence of France in Egypt, refused to co-operate with Great Britain. Consequently Palmerston turned to Russia, and Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia formed an alliance to prevent the further progress of Mehemet Ali. Acre was bombarded and taken; Mehemet Ali was driven back, and had to agree to an arrangement by which he was deprived of Syria (1840). But the French people were furious at the matter being settled without their country being consulted. Louis Philippe talked of "unmuzzling the tiger of war", and surrounded Paris with forts, and war was narrowly averted.[1]

Mehemet Ali and Syria.

Just at this time, however, Lord Melbourne's government was defeated, and Peel came into power (1841). Lord Palmerston accordingly retired from the Foreign Office. *Lord Aberdeen*, his successor, and *Guizot*, who became foreign secretary in France, were both pacifically inclined, and

Lord Aberdeen's policy, 1841–6.

[1] Palmerston wrote to the British agent in Paris instructing him to convey to the French minister "in the most friendly and inoffensive manner possible, that if France throws down the gauntlet we shall not refuse to pick it up, and that Mehemet Ali will just be chucked into the Nile".

good feeling between the two countries was gradually restored during the next five years. To Lord Aberdeen's credit must also be put an agreement with the United States which settled a difficult and thorny boundary question on the west coast of America, though the agreement was very distasteful to Canada (p. 701).

Lord Palmerston returned to the Foreign Office in 1846, and almost immediately the good understanding with France came to an end over the *Spanish marriages question.* Into the details of this complicated affair we cannot enter. It is sufficient to say that the Queen of Spain and her sister were both unmarried, and that the Courts of Europe busied themselves in discussing what husbands should be provided for them. Great Britain objected to the Queen of Spain marrying a son of Louis Philippe, and France to her marrying a relation of Queen Victoria's. Eventually Louis Philippe threw over an informal agreement he had made with the British Court, and arranged that the queen should marry one of her cousins, who was a contemptible person and in weak health, whilst her sister married Louis Philippe's son; and the marriages took place on the same day (1846). Great Britain was furious, as it was thought that the queen would have no heirs, and that consequently Louis Philippe would secure the throne of Spain for his own descendants. As a matter of fact the queen did have children, and the British fears proved groundless; but the British distrust of Louis Philippe remained incurable.

The Spanish marriages question, 1846.

Louis Philippe, however, was not to reign much longer. The great year of Revolutions came in 1848. France started the movement by deposing Louis Philippe and inaugurating a republic; after ten months of turmoil, *Louis Napoleon*, the nephew of the great Napoleon, was elected as president for four years. Revolutions, headed by political reformers or ardent nationalists, followed in nearly every country in Europe, but especially in Hungary and Italy, where the people strove to rid themselves of the hated Austrian yoke, and in the different states of Germany. The Emperor of Austria abdicated, and his minister, Metternich, was overthrown; whilst the emperor who succeeded, Francis Joseph, then a youth of eighteen, was driven from Vienna. The Prince of Prussia had to fly to England,

The Revolutions of 1848.

and there was some severe fighting in Italy and Hungary. Lord Palmerston sympathized with these various movements, gave advice in all directions,[1] and actually allowed arms to be sent indirectly from Woolwich Arsenal to the insurgents who rose in Sicily. Before long, however, the forces of reaction were triumphant. Austria was enabled to preserve her rule in Northern Italy, and, with the aid of the Russians, to crush the Hungarians, whilst the movement in Germany fizzled out.

Meanwhile Lord Palmerston's policy had provoked Queen Victoria's keen dissatisfaction. Moreover, he was inclined to carry on negotiations with other countries without consulting either the queen or the prime minister. The queen quite rightly protested, and when Lord Palmerston, contrary to the wishes of the queen and the prime minister, expressed his approval of a *coup d'état* by which Louis Napoleon had made himself master of France,[2] he was dismissed (1851).

Fall of Palmerston, 1851.

2. The Crimean War, 1854–6

In 1854, Eastern complications, so prolific of crises throughout the nineteenth century, produced the only great European war in which Great Britain has been directly engaged since the great campaigns against Napoleon. In order to understand the causes of this war—the *Crimean War* as it is called—we must try to appreciate the positions of the chief Christian powers engaged in it. First, let us take Russia. The czar, *Nicholas I*, was firmly persuaded of the impending dissolution of the Turkish Empire. He was anxious to come to some arrangement with Great Britain before that event took place, and with that object spoke to our ambassador at St. Petersburg. "We have on our hands a sick man, a very sick man," he said in reference to Turkey; "we ought to agree about the funeral," and he suggested that

Causes of Crimean War, 1854.

[1] "Every post", wrote Palmerston, "sends me a lamenting minister throwing himself and his country upon England for help, which I am obliged to tell him we cannot afford."

[2] Louis Napoleon had the support of the army, and early on the morning of Dec. 2, 1851, he arrested seventy people who were the most likely to oppose his re-election as President, and made himself supreme. A year later he was elected Emperor.

Great Britain might have Egypt and Crete as her share of the inheritance.

Secondly, there was Great Britain. Its Government denied that Turkey was mortally ill, and regarded the czar, not as the friendly undertaker, but as a person meditating an act of robbery, accompanied by violence, and if necessary by murder. But the British cabinet at that time was the result of a coalition between Whigs and Peelites (see p. 625). The views of its members were not harmonious, *Lord Aberdeen*, the prime minister, leading a pacific section, and *Lord Palmerston*, who was home secretary, a warlike one. As a result its policy was indecisive, vacillating, and indefinite. Moreover, in the crisis of the negotiations preceding the war, both Russia and Great Britain had bellicose agents at Constantinople. *Prince Mentchikoff*, the Russian agent, was determined to promote and extend Russian interests, and *Lord Stratford de Redcliffe*, the British ambassador, apprehensive and suspicious of Russian designs, was in favour of what he called a "comprehensive war", if necessary, in order to thwart them.

Thirdly, there was France, under its new ruler, the Emperor *Napoleon III*, who had succeeded to supreme power in France as a result of the Revolution of 1848 and of his own *coup d'état* three years later. Both as the nephew of Napoleon, and in order to divert the attention of the French from home affairs, he was anxious to achieve military glory, and to make himself the arbiter of Europe. In the troubled Eastern waters he saw his chance, and seized it.

The Holy Land belonged to the Turkish Empire. A trumpery dispute between the monks of the Roman and Greek Churches about the guardianship "of a key and a star", the key of the holy places at Jerusalem and the star over the altar at Bethlehem, led to the monks being championed respectively by France and Russia, the one regarding itself as protector of the Roman and the other of the Greek Church. The matter was eventually settled, but the Russians, in the course of the negotiations, revived an old claim to the protectorship of the Christian subjects of the sultan. Mentchikoff continued to press this claim, but the sultan, on Lord Stratford de Redcliffe's advice, rejected

it, as it might have given the czar a large control over the whole of the Turkish territories in Europe. Complex negotiations followed, but unfortunately the British cabinet never made its position clear to Russia, and consequently the czar never realized that persistence in his claims was likely to lead to war. Eventually the Russians, in order to coerce Turkey, occupied the Turkish principalities that bordered the Danube, and subsequently destroyed a Turkish squadron at *Sinope* (Nov., 1853). Feeling in Great Britain was aroused, Louis Napoleon was anxious for war, and eventually the British cabinet drifted into it; an ultimatum was sent to Russia, and on its rejection war was declared (March, 1854). Great Britain, France, and Turkey, joined in the following year by the ruler of Piedmont, the King of Sardinia,[1] were opposed to Russia; Prussia and Austria, after some hesitation, remained neutral.

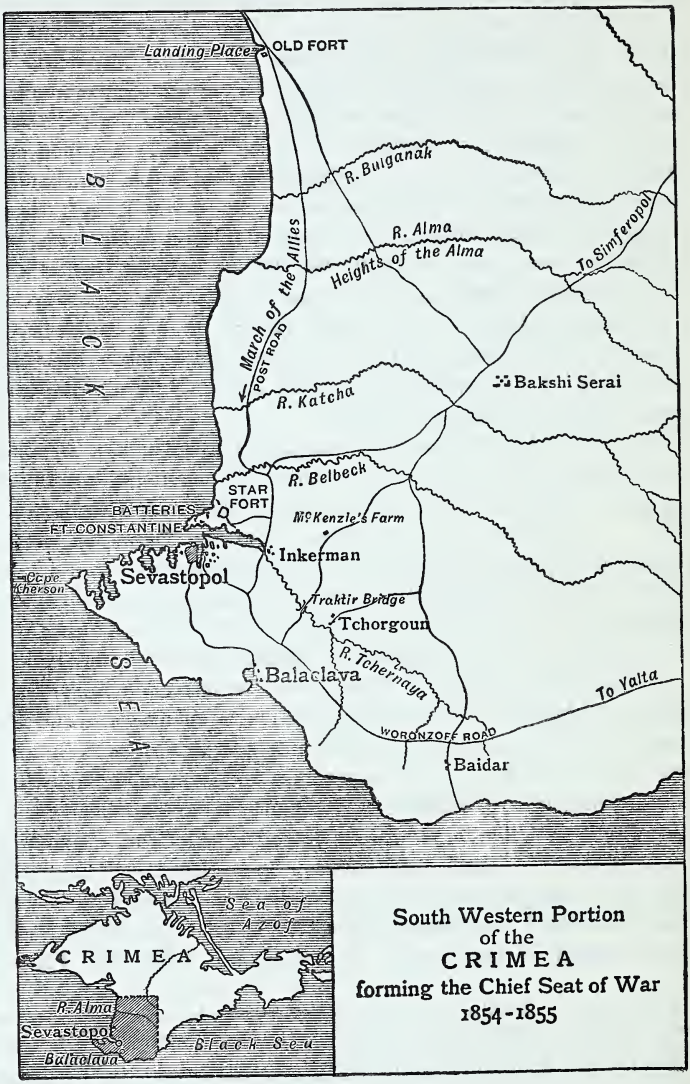
The war which followed is generally known as the *Crimean War*, because it was in the Crimea that the main military operations took place. The original object of the allies, the expulsion of the Russians from the Danubian principalities, was quickly secured; but it was considered necessary for future security to cripple Russia, and for that purpose to capture *Sebastopol*, the great Russian arsenal and fort in the Crimea, the "very heart", as it was called, "of Russian power in the East".

The war, 1854.

"The history of the Crimean War," it has been said, "is a history of blunders." In a sense this is true of all wars, and the combatant who makes the fewer blunders is victorious. But the great powers of Europe had waged no big campaign since that of 1815, and it is undeniable that the art of war had been somewhat forgotten. The allied forces landed in the Crimea, and won the battle of the *Alma* in September, 1854. But the battle, apart from the courage shown by the soldiers, reflected little credit upon the allies.[2] An immediate advance after the battle might have resulted in the capture of Sebastopol. But the French

[1] This was due to the King of Sardinia's minister, Cavour; he wished to ingratiate his country with France and Great Britain, so that they might look with sympathy upon Cavour's schemes for the attainment of Italian nationality.

[2] Lord Raglan, the British commander, was on an exposed position within the enemy's lines where he could not control the battle, whilst the bulk of the French forces went astray, and arrived too late to turn the enemy's left wing as was intended,


Landing Place
OLD FORT
R. Bulganak
R. Alma
Heights of the Alma
To Simferopol
March of the Allies
POST ROAD
Bakshi Serai
R. Katcha
R. Belbeck
STAR FORT
BATTERIES
FT. CONSTANTINE
Mc Kenzie's Farm
Inkerman
Cape Kherson
Sevastopol
Traktir Bridge
Tchorgoun
R. Tchernaya
Balaclava
To Yalta
WORONZOFF ROAD
Baidar
BLACK SEA
Sea of Azof
CRIMEA
R. Alma
Sevastopol
Balaclava
Black Sea
South Western Portion of the CRIMEA forming the Chief Seat of War 1854-1855

commander was mortally ill, and delayed. Consequently the Russians were given time to improve the defences by raising earthworks and by scuttling the fleet in the Bay of Sebastopol. The allied commanders, after a dangerous flank march round Sebastopol, decided that an immediate assault was impossible, and undertook a regular siege.

The British base of supplies was at Balaclava, some six miles from their trenches. A large Russian army which was outside Sebastopol determined to seize it, and on the 25th October came the battle of *Balaclava*. That battle was famous for three incidents. Early in the day our Turkish allies had been repulsed by the Russians; the way to Balaclava was as a consequence only blocked by one regiment of foot, the 93rd, under Colin Campbell. Some squadrons of Russian cavalry tried to reach Balaclava by getting round the flank of the British line, but Campbell, with great celerity, changed his front, and the Russian cavalry were obliged to retreat. Soon after this, the "Heavy Brigade" of cavalry, though it was outnumbered by three to one, charged the massed squadrons of the Russian cavalry, and in some eight minutes broke through them, and forced them to retreat. Last of all, six hundred men of the "Light Brigade" made, owing to mistaken orders, a magnificent though useless charge down a valley swept by artillery from all sides, and actually managed to reach and temporarily to take possession of the enemy's guns.[1] The British forces, therefore, managed to save Balaclava, but the Russians got command of the only metalled road that ran from Balaclava to the British trenches, and hence made this road useless for the transport of supplies. Less than a fortnight after the attempt on Balaclava, the Russians made a determined attack at *Inkerman*, upon the right of the British forces besieging Sebastopol. After a desperate battle, fought in a fog—a "soldiers' battle", if ever there was one—the Russians were eventually repulsed (November 5, 1854).

Balaclava and Inkerman.

The allies now, however, had to fight a Crimean winter, and in the middle of November it began. A fearful hurricane, accom-

[1] See Tennyson's Poems. The criticism of the French commander on the charge of the Light Brigade is well known: "C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre".

panied by rain and snow, destroyed many of the tents, made the cart track from the trenches to Balaclava—the only means of communication the British had—impassable for wheeled traffic, and destroyed twenty-one ships which were conveying clothing, forage, and ammunition for the British forces. For the next four months the condition of the army was terrible. The cold was intense; food and clothing were alike scanty; the transport animals all perished, and the soldiers had to convert themselves into commissariat mules to bring in supplies; and the camp hospitals were miserably provided with necessities for the sick and wounded. As a consequence, the troops were attacked by cholera and scurvy, by dysentery and fever, and at one time the men in hospital were more numerous than those outside it.

The Crimean winter.

Newspaper correspondents made the condition of the army known at home. The nation was furious, and felt that *Lord Palmerston* was the only statesman fitted to cope with the situation. Lord Aberdeen accordingly resigned in January, 1855, and Palmerston became prime minister. But even before this preparations had been made to improve matters. Men and supplies were sent to the Crimea, whilst *Miss Florence Nightingale* was allowed to organize the nursing in the hospitals; and with Lord Palmerston's accession to office fresh energy was infused into every department.

The Russian army had fared little better than the British during the winter, and was in no condition to take the offensive. Moreover, in February, 1855, the Czar Nicholas died,[1] and was succeeded by *Alexander II.* Negotiations for peace were begun, but they came to nothing. The allies then prosecuted the war with vigour. The French had a hundred thousand men, the British forty thousand, and the King of Sardinia some fifteen thousand. With these forces attempts were made to storm Sebastopol; they were at first unsuccessful, but finally, in September, determined attacks were made by the French and British upon two forts which were the keys of the Russian position, the Malakoff and the Redan. The

Fall of Sebastopol, Sept., 1855.

[1] The czar had said, referring to the Crimean winter, that he had two generals on whom he could always rely, *Janvier et Fevrier*. On the czar's death, in the latter month, a famous cartoon was published in *Punch*, called "General Fevrier turned traitor".

British attack on the latter failed, but the French took the Malakoff, and the same night Sebastopol was abandoned by the Russians (September 8, 1855).

The fall of Sebastopol really ended the war. A congress of European powers was held at Paris at the beginning of 1856, and at the end of March peace was signed. By the terms of peace, the integrity of the Ottoman Empire was guaranteed by the powers, though the sultan promised reforms for his Christian subjects, and the Danubian principalities, Wallachia and Moldavia, were made self-governing, eventually forming the kingdom of Roumania. The Black Sea was declared neutral, and no ship of war was allowed upon it; nor were arsenals to be built upon its shores.

Treaty of Paris, 1856.

3. British Diplomacy and the Period of Warfare, 1857–71

The Crimean War proved but the prelude to a series of wars all over the world. No sooner was it over than Great Britain had to fight against Persia and China, and to struggle for her power in India, where the Mutiny broke out in 1857. Moreover, her relations with France caused her no little uneasiness, especially in 1858. "We are riding a runaway horse," Palmerston had said of his alliance with Napoleon III, "and must always be on our guard;" and Napoleon III was suspected of designing an invasion of Great Britain and of avenging his uncle's defeats at Trafalgar and Waterloo.

Then in 1859 British diplomacy was occupied with the *War of Italian Liberation.* Since the fall of Napoleon, Italy had been, as during past centuries, merely a "geographical expression". The King of Sardinia and the Emperor of Austria occupied the north; the Pope, the Duke of Tuscany, and three other dukes shared the centre; the King of Naples governed, or rather misgoverned, the south and Sicily. In 1859 the movement for uniting it into a single nation under Victor Emmanuel, who ruled Piedmont, and was King of Sardinia, could no longer be repressed. But the difficulties were immense: eight states had to

be united; the Austrians had to be expelled; and the existence of the Papacy in Italy made the problem of unity a most complex one. The Italian patriots, however, were fortunate in their leaders. The discretion of *Victor Emmanuel*, the brain of *Cavour*, his chief minister, and the sword of the hero *Garibaldi* accomplished a United Italy. But, nevertheless, without the assistance of France and Great Britain the movement might not have been successful. Napoleon III with a French army drove the Austrian forces from Lombardy in 1859, though later he forsook the Italian cause, and supported the Pope; whilst the British Government, with Lord Palmerston as prime minister and Lord John Russell as foreign secretary, gave the Italians its moral support, and prevented European intervention when Garibaldi with his thousand "Red-Shirts" conquered first Sicily and then Naples in 1860.[1] As a consequence, all Italy was united save Venice and the city of Rome; and these were finally added, the one in 1866, when Austria's energies were occupied in a war with Prussia, and the other in 1870, during the war between France and Germany, when the French troops who had been guarding Rome were withdrawn.

Italian Liberation War, 1859.

The *American Civil War* (1861–5) followed close on the War of Italian Liberation. This was a war fought between the Northern and Southern States: first, as to the right of the Southern States to secede from the Union; and secondly, as to the continuance of slavery, which was still the basis of all labour in the South. The war was fought with great determination on both sides for four years before the North was finally successful.[2] The earlier stages of the war were fought on the question of secession rather than on that of slavery, and the sympathy of the governing classes in Great Britain was inclined to the South, partly because it was the weaker side and partly because of the magnificent fighting powers which it exhibited. The Northern States, moreover, by blockading the Southern ports prevented the export of cotton, which led to terrible distress in Lancashire.

The American Civil War, 1861–5.

[1] Armed with muskets "fit for the scrap heap", Garibaldi and the thousand took, with the aid of the Sicilian populace, the capital of Sicily from twenty-four thousand regular troops armed with rifles.

[2] The war is reckoned, through battle and disease, to have killed or crippled a million men.

The British Government, however, maintained a strict neutrality, though two incidents nearly produced a war with the Northern States. A Northern man-of-war violated British neutrality by taking on the high seas from a British mail steamer—the *Trent*—two agents of the Southern States who were coming to Europe with the object of obtaining European assistance. The British nation was furiously indignant, and its Government sent the Guards to Canada, and penned a dispatch demanding the surrender of the agents and an immediate apology. The Queen, at the suggestion of the Prince Consort—it was his last official act before his death—persuaded the Government to make the wording of the dispatch less peremptory in tone, and to give the Northern States an opportunity of giving way without humiliation, an opportunity of which they fortunately took advantage (1861).[1]

The "Trent".

In the other incident the British Government was at fault. A vessel was being built at Birkenhead for use as a cruiser on the side of the South. The British Government was given information about it, but neglected to take steps in time, and consequently the steamer, called the *Alabama*, was able to leave Birkenhead in 1862, and for the next two years played havoc with the merchant ships of the Northern States.[2] The States demanded compensation, and eventually, after long and critical negotiations, the matter was finally ended in 1872 by Great Britain paying over three million pounds.

The "Alabama".

Whilst the American Civil War was still raging, a new personality in European affairs had arisen in *Bismarck*. Since 1815 the policy of Prussia had lacked initiative and courage, and Lord Palmerston once spoke of her as a *quantité négligeable*. But Palmerston was to be rudely undeceived when Bismarck became the chief minister

Bismarck and the Polish Question, 1863.

[1] But American feeling was still sore on the point. Cf. the American poet's lines—

> We give the critturs back, John,
> 'Cos Abram thought 'twas right;
> It warn't your bullyin' clack, John,
> Provoking us to fight.

[2] The British Government on July 29 finally decided to seize the vessel; but at daybreak that morning the *Alabama* left the Mersey, ostensibly on a trial trip, with ladies and other guests on board. The guests were landed in Wales, and the ship took in her armament and her captain and a fresh crew off the Azores, and hoisted the Southern flag.

of the King of Prussia in 1862. His policy was one of "blood and iron"—he knew exactly what he wanted, and was determined to spare no force in order to secure it. Lord Palmerston, now nearing eighty years of age, with a pacific court, a lukewarm and occasionally hostile cabinet, and an army which was small, and not, since the Crimean War, considered to be of great efficiency, was no match for such a resolute diplomatist. Thus, in 1863, British sympathy was aroused in behalf of the *Poles*, who, owing to Russian misgovernment, had risen in insurrection. The British Government dispatched three protests against the cruelty of the Russians in dealing with the rising, whilst Bismarck, afraid lest a successful rising in Russian Poland might be followed by a similar movement in Prussian Poland, concentrated three army corps on the western frontier of Prussia, ready to help Russia if occasion arose. It is needless to say, therefore, that British protests were unavailing, and the insurrection in Poland was stamped out with merciless ferocity. British intervention had merely irritated Russia without mitigating the lot of the Poles.

In another and more important affair Bismarck triumphed. In 1863 the *Schleswig-Holstein Question* became acute. Palmerston is reported to have said that there were only three people in Europe who ever understood it: the Prince Consort who was dead, a Danish statesman who was mad, and he himself who had forgotten it. An attempt to explain it would therefore be difficult. It is sufficient to remember that for four centuries the kingdom of Denmark and these two Duchies had been ruled by the same sovereign, but that Holstein was also part of Germany, and belonged in the nineteenth century to the German Confederation. An attempt made by the King of Denmark to draw the ties between Denmark and Schleswig closer produced protests from the two chief German states—Austria and Prussia—and, on their proving unavailing, an Austro-Prussian army proceeded to occupy Holstein. British sympathies were strongly with Denmark, which was regarded as a small state bullied by two large ones. An indiscreet speech of Lord Palmerston's led the Danes to suppose that Great Britain would support them by force if necessary, a delusion sedulously fostered by Bismarck, who was anxious that

The Schleswig-Holstein Question, 1863–4.

Denmark should go to war, in order that she might be deprived of the Duchies. Denmark was therefore encouraged to resist the demands made on her. An army of Austrians and Prussians accordingly overran both Duchies, and, as no help came from Great Britain, Denmark had not only to surrender them, but to pay an indemnity for having attempted their defence (1864).

Soon after this, in 1865, Lord Palmerston died. The foreign policy of his ministry towards the close of his life was described by the opposition as a policy of "meddle and muddle", and of "senseless and spiritless menaces". Yet it must be remembered that Lord Palmerston had been one of the creators of the kingdoms of Belgium and Italy; and that he had carried Great Britain successfully through the later stages of the Crimean War. In his old age he met in Bismarck a rival with a freer hand and with a larger and better equipped army—and he was worsted.

The five years following Lord Palmerston's death (1865–71) saw the establishment of Prussian predominance in Europe. The great object of Bismarck's policy was to drive Austria out of Germany and make Prussia the leading power there. He accordingly brought on a war with Austria in 1866; the battle of *Sadowa* was decisive, and in seven weeks the war came to an end, Prussia gaining as a result the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein and the kingdom of Hanover,[1] and displacing Austria as the chief power in Germany.

The Austro-Prussian Seven Weeks' War (1866).

Prussia's success was regarded with great apprehension by Napoleon III, whilst Bismarck saw that the unity of Germany could only be achieved by a successful war against her old enemy, France. Consequently, war between France and Prussia was probably inevitable. And in 1870 differences between France and Prussia relative to a candidate for the throne of Spain were dexterously utilized by Bismarck to bring on a war, but in such a way that France appeared to be the aggressor. In this war Prussia, supported by the other German States, including those in the south, was brilliantly successful. Within a month of its opening, Napoleon III and a large army were captured at *Sedan*; and this was followed by

Franco-German War, 1870-1.

[1] The Duke of Cumberland, William IV's brother, had succeeded to the throne of Hanover in 1837, as female succession was not allowed.

the surrender of *Metz* and the siege of Paris. From these disasters France could not recover, and in 1871 she had to agree to a peace by which she paid an enormous indemnity, and lost Alsace and Lorraine.

The Franco-German War had other results. In France it led to the creation of a republic, which has survived ever since. In Germany, the various states were federated under the leadership of Prussia, whose king became Emperor of Germany. Moreover, the war led to the final completion of Italian unity, as the Italians took advantage of the war to capture Rome. Finally, the Franco-German War led to the re-opening of the Eastern Question.[1] At Bismarck's suggestion—for Bismarck was anxious to keep both Russia and Great Britain employed—Russia, in 1871, took advantage of the Franco-German War to repudiate the article in the Treaty of Paris neutralizing the Black Sea. Great Britain had not intervened in either of the two wars in which Prussia had been engaged. Even this infraction of the Treaty by Russia only met with a protest from her, which, unbacked by armed force, was disregarded; and a European conference met soon afterwards and rescinded the article.

4. The Eastern Question, 1876–8

The Bulgarian atrocities, 1876.

If Russia had repudiated one of the terms of the Treaty of Paris, the sultan had neglected to carry out another; his promised reforms for his Christian subjects, "the worthless promise of a worthless potentate", came to nothing, and "the relations between the sultan and his subjects, that is to say, the relation between the tyrant and his victims, went on just as before". Consequently there was continual unrest in the Balkan States. In 1875 the people of Herzegovina revolted; and 1876 their example was followed by the Bulgarians, whilst Servia and Montenegro declared war on the Turks. The Turks in revenge perpetrated in *Bulgaria* the most terrible barbarities. Thousands of people were massacred and tortured—in

[1] The terms of the Treaty of Paris which ended the Crimean War had been broken before the war of 1870, for Wallachia and Moldavia, which it was intended should remain separate, had been united in 1866 under the name of Roumania.

one place, it was said, a child was impaled on a standard and paraded through the streets.

How did public opinion in Great Britain regard these events? On the one hand, the atrocities drew Mr. Gladstone from his retirement (p. 635), and in a series of speeches and pamphlets he summoned the nation to support a policy of freeing the Christian subjects of Turkey from the sultan's control, and of expelling the sultan, "bag and baggage," from Europe. Lord Beaconsfield, on the other hand, who was prime minister, distrusted the political designs of Russia, and favoured what he called the "traditional" policy of Great Britain—the maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman dominions. The British nation was divided between the horror inspired by Turkish cruelty and the distrust provoked by long experience of Russian diplomacy. But when Russia, after the failure of an attempt to secure European intervention in Turkey, declared war, and in 1877 invaded the Turkish territories in Europe and Asia, the latter sentiment steadily gained ground, and the memory of Turkish barbarity was gradually obliterated by the accounts of the bravery which the Turks exhibited for six months, against overwhelming forces, in the defence of *Plevna*, their stronghold in the north of the Balkans.

British policy.

But Plevna fell at last, and the Russians threatened to attack Constantinople itself. The Russians were consequently able to force the Turks to make peace (1878). But the terms imposed by Russia were such that Great Britain could not acquiesce in them, and war seemed then imminent between Russia and Great Britain. A British fleet brought up near Constantinople, and six thousand troops were sent from India to Malta. But then Russia agreed to refer the arrangement to a European congress. It met at Berlin, under the presidency of Bismarck, Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury being the British representatives. After critical debates a treaty, known as the *Treaty of Berlin*, was agreed upon (1878). By its terms Roumania and Servia and Montenegro were declared independent of Turkey; Bosnia and Herzegovina, though still belonging to Turkey, were put under Austrian administration; Russia received a fort and a port in Asia Minor; whilst Great Britain, by a sepa-

Treaty of Berlin, 1878.

rate treaty with Turkey, was given control of Cyprus. Two new States were created—one, Bulgaria, which was to be self-governing though under Turkish suzerainty, and the other, Eastern Roumelia, which was placed under a Christian governor nominated by the sultan but approved by the powers. At the time the treaty was thought to be a great triumph for Great Britain, and Lord Beaconsfield proclaimed that he brought back "peace with honour".

The Eastern Question, 1878–1909.

The Eastern Question had been since the Franco-German War the only question in Europe which really interested Great Britain; and after the Treaty of Berlin even interest in that began to subside, and infractions of the treaty have not roused her to action. Eastern Roumelia was united to Bulgaria in 1885. Austria in 1908 annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, whilst Bulgaria at the same time declared its complete independence of Turkey. None of these measures produced anything but ineffective protests from Great Britain.

British inaction was due to several causes. In part it was due to the growing feeling that, to use the words of Lord Salisbury, "we put our money on the wrong horse" in regard to the Turks, and long experience had taught Great Britain that Turkey would not reform herself—though recent events would seem to indicate that the traditional British belief in the future regeneration of Turkey was not wholly misplaced. In part it was due to the growing desire for peace and non-intervention which was felt by the nation and reflected by her foreign secretaries. But the chief cause of all is that the theatre of European diplomacy since 1878 has been no longer Europe but the World, and this denotes so important a change that we must say something about it in a new chapter.

XLIX. Great Britain and World-Politics, 1878–1911

On the whole, it is true to say that up till 1878 the gaze of European statesmen had been fixed mainly upon affairs in Europe; and that, since that date, it has been fixed to an increasing extent upon affairs in Asia and Africa. What were the causes of this change? Partly, no doubt, it was due to the fact that, for the generation that lived after 1878, there was no European problem that pressed for immediate solution; Italy had attained her nationality, Prussia had fought out her struggle with Austria and with France, and even the Eastern Question ceased to be explosive. Then, again, in the years previous to 1878 the value of extra-European possessions was hardly realized. Cobden, for instance, the free trader, had looked upon our great Indian Empire with an "eye of despair". The popular view of colonies was expressed by Disraeli,[1] who said in 1852, "these wretched colonies will all be independent in a few years and are like a millstone round our necks"; whilst Bismarck said in 1876, "I do not want colonies at all. Their only use is to provide sinecures." But the growing fidelity of the colonies to the British Empire and their increasing prosperity, coupled with the greater facilities of communication, gradually brought about a revulsion of feeling. Above all, the European nations began gradually to realize the necessity for expansion. They had to find outlets for their growing population,[2] fresh markets for the products of their growing manufactures. Africa and Asia offered the best openings for their enterprise, and the field of rivalry between the various European nations has therefore been transferred from Europe to these two vast continents.

World-Policy of European States.

[1] Of course Disraeli in later years held quite different opinions.

[2] The population of people of European extraction increased from 170 millions to 510 millions in the course of the nineteenth century.

1. Great Britain and Egypt

Egypt and Ismail Pasha, 1863–79.

To begin with, we must endeavour to trace the relations of Great Britain with Egypt. The first difficulties which arose there, however, were not caused by the rivalry for expansion, but were due to other circumstances. It will be remembered that Mehemet Ali had made himself master of Egypt, though he was still subject nominally to the sovereignty of Turkey. His grandson, *Ismail Pasha*,[1] succeeded in 1863, and was accorded by the Sultan the title of *Khedive*—in return for a substantial money payment. Ismail's reign was, it has been said, "a carnival of extravagance and oppression". He possessed an unrivalled capacity for spending money, for he added to the wasteful tastes of an Oriental despot a genuine desire to introduce into his country, in all haste, the conveniences of Western civilization, without the least idea how to do it economically and effectively. As a consequence, during his sixteen years of rule, the debt of Egypt increased from £3,000,000 to £100,000,000, and every form of extortion was practised on his subjects in order to furnish him with money, the "fellaheen"—as the Egyptian peasants are called—being perhaps, during his reign, the most wretched people in all the world. Some of his expenditure was wise. He was, for instance, a great supporter of the *Suez Canal Company*, and bought large quantities of its shares. But he and his family, and the ministers and adventurers who surrounded him, recklessly squandered the greater part of the money they obtained. One instance must suffice: an Egyptian princess ran up a bill of £150,000 with a French dressmaker.

Eventually the crash came. Ismail first sold all his Canal shares, Disraeli buying £4,000,000 worth of them for Great Britain. Then, in 1876, he repudiated the State debts. The creditors were Europeans, chiefly British and French, and such an action made European intervention inevitable. Moreover, Great Britain regarded Egypt as the highway to India, and was therefore vitally interested in the stability of its government. The

[1] Pasha is a Turkish title usually given to generals and governors of provinces.

upshot, after various complicated negotiations, was that Great Britain and France in 1879 got the sultan to depose Ismail and to nominate *Tewfik*, his son, in his place, whilst the public debt of Egypt was put under the supervision of the European powers, and two controllers, appointed by Great Britain and France respectively, guided the financial administration of the country.

The *Dual Control*, as it has been called, was not to last for long. There shortly arose an anti-foreign movement, directed against any Turkish or European control of Egyptian affairs, the motto of which was "Egypt for the Egyptians". Moreover, in the army there was great discontent, chiefly owing to the arrears of pay, and in 1881 *Arabi Pasha*, an officer in the army, was the leader of a successful mutiny, and practically obtained the control of the government. There soon followed a riot in Alexandria, in which some fifty Europeans were brutally murdered. It was obvious that the country was drifting into anarchy, and hundreds of Europeans began to leave the country. The Great Powers, therefore, held a solemn conference at Constantinople to decide what should be done; but they decided nothing, and meanwhile the Egyptian soldiers at Alexandria raised batteries for use against a British fleet which had been dispatched to that port. This was too much even for Lord Granville, the foreign secretary in Gladstone's ministry, whose policy had hitherto been of a somewhat dawdling character. He suggested to France a joint bombardment of Alexandria, but France, fearful of Bismarck's designs if French energies were absorbed in Egypt, refused. Great Britain accordingly acted alone, and, on the Egyptians refusing to pull down the batteries, *Alexandria* was bombarded and the batteries destroyed (July, 1882). Having once begun to interfere, Great Britain could not stop. Sir Garnet (afterwards Lord) Wolseley was sent to Egypt, and by a well-delivered blow at *Tel-el-Kebir* crushed Arabi's forces (September, 1882), and Arabi himself was exiled to Ceylon. The khedive's power was re-established, some of the British forces being left provisionally in the country.

Arabi Pasha's movement, 1881–2.

No sooner was the Arabi revolt suppressed than danger arose elsewhere. The khedive not only ruled Egypt, but a vast country known as the Soudan, which extends south of Wady Halfa, and

was twice as big as France and Germany put together. Mohammedans believe that a "Mahdi" will appear on earth, on whose coming the world will be converted to Mohammedanism. A man in the Soudan proclaimed himself to be "the Mahdi" in 1881. The Soudanese under Ismail's rule had suffered, except during a short period when General Gordon was governor, every form of misgovernment, large parts of the land having been leased out to slave-hunters. Consequently they flocked to join the new prophet, and it soon became evident that a formidable rebellion was in progress. The khedive and his ministers, after Arabi's downfall, sent a general called Hicks to crush the Dervishes, as the Mahdi's followers were called; but the army was raw and undisciplined, and was totally destroyed (1883).[1] It was clear that the Soudan must be evacuated, at any rate for a time. The Egyptian Government was unwilling to adopt this course, and consequently the British Government had again to interfere, and to insist upon it.

The Mahdi and the evacuation of the Soudan, 1883.

But at once two questions arose—how far was it possible to extricate the Egyptian garrisons in the Soudan, amounting to some fifty thousand men? and what form of government, if any, was to be set up in the Soudan after its evacuation? The British Government decided to send to the Soudan *General Gordon*—who had a few years before governed it for a short time—with the primary and main object of superintending the evacuation and of saving as many garrisons as he could, and incidentally of making what arrangements were possible for the future government of the country. Gordon was a hero of heroes, brave, chivalrous, impetuous, emotional, self-confident;[2] but because of some of these very qualities it was a mistake to send him. When he reached *Khartoum* (February, 1884), the capital of the Soudan, it was perhaps natural that he should lay the chief stress, not upon the unadventurous policy of evacuation, but upon the future settlement of the country and

Gordon's mission, 1884–5.

[1] The army was led astray by the guides, and after wandering three days and three nights without water, came upon a force of the enemy whom it was too feeble to resist.

[2] Gordon's most famous exploits were in China. He commanded a force, known as "the Ever-victorious Army", on behalf of the Chinese government in the formidable Taiping rebellion. His force won thirty-three engagements in under two years (1863–4), and stamped out the rebellion. Gordon led the storming-parties in person, carrying a little cane. His soldiers regarded it as a magic wand, protecting his life and leading them to victory.


EGYPT
and
BRITISH EAST AFRICA
English Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500 600
Territory under British influence shaded thus
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Alexandria
Port Said
Suez
Cairo
TRIPOLI
EGYPT
Assouan
Wady Halfa
Dongola
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SOUDAN
Omdurman
Khartoum
Blue Nile
White Nile
Red Sea
ARABIA
Mecca
ERITREA (Italian)
Aden
G. of Aden
Socotra (Br.)
Perim I. (Br.)
FRENCH SOMALILAND
BRITISH SOMALILAND
ABYSSINIA
ITALIAN SOMALILAND
INDIAN OCEAN
FRENCH CONGO
Anglo-French agreement 1899
Gondokoro
UGANDA PROTECTORATE
BRITISH EAST AFRICA
Congo
BELGIAN CONGO
Victoria Nyanza
L. Tanganyika
GERMAN EAST AFRICA
Mombasa
ZANZIBAR PROTECTORATE
ANGOLA (Port.)
RHODESIA
L. Nyasa
PORT. E. AFRICA

the welfare of its inhabitants. First, he asked that Zobehr, a man who had been a noted slave-dealer, should be sent to the Soudan as ruler, as he was a man of enormous influence. But the British Government, fearful of public opinion at home, refused. Then Gordon wanted, in his own words, "to smash the Mahdi" with British or Indian troops. Meantime the chance of extricating the garrisons, if there ever was a chance, passed away; the tribes round Khartoum rose for the Mahdi; and, finally, Gordon's own retreat was cut off.

Gordon had to be relieved. But for five fatal months Gladstone's Government procrastinated. Finally Lord Wolseley was sent; an advance guard was hurried forward, only to learn, when within sight of Khartoum, that General Gordon, after an heroic defence of three hundred and seventeen days, had been killed, and that the town had fallen two days previously (January, 1885). Relief had arrived too late. The shame and grief of Great Britain at the failure to save General Gordon may be imagined. But nothing could now be done. The fall of Khartoum meant the complete evacuation of the Soudan south of Wady Halfa, and the greater part of the garrisons fell into the hands of the Mahdi.

Death of Gordon, 1885.

Meantime in Egypt itself, "the land of paradox", a strange situation developed. Arabi's movement had been quelled by British forces—but what was then to happen? Great Britain could not annex the country or establish a formal protectorate without violating pledges which she had given to European powers. On the other hand, she could not abandon it; the khedive could not stand alone, and it was clear that, in order not only to reform the country but to save it from anarchy, some power must interfere. To call in the Turk would have made things worse, whilst to ask for the intervention of other European powers would only have increased complications. The upshot was that Great Britain decided upon a provisional occupation, which was to last until Egypt should be able to look after herself—and that occupation, which some optimists hoped would last only for a few months, has, to the infinite benefit of the country, lasted till this day. The Sultan of Turkey still possessed, in name, the sovereign power. He

Government of Egypt, 1882-1910.

received an annual tribute, and he limited the numbers of the Egyptian army; the Turkish flag was the Egyptian flag, and the Egyptians themselves were the sultan's subjects. The khedive, Tewfik Pasha, and his ministers, in theory, were responsible for the government and carried on the administration of the country.[1] But the real security for the peace of Egypt has been the British army, the real security for its financial stability has been the British treasury, and the real ruler of the country has been the British consul-general, Lord Cromer.[2]

Under the guidance of Lord Cromer, "the creator of modern Egypt," British "advisers" to the Egyptian ministers have reorganized the finance and the system of justice and education. Three of the greatest evils of Egypt, the three C's as they have been called, were dealt with. The *courbash*, a strip of hippopotamus hide with a tapering end, once used with hideous frequency on the wretched Egyptians, was forbidden; the *corvée*, or forced labour, was stopped; and the British officials, by their own splendid example, and by using every check in their power, did a great deal to lessen the awful *corruption*—the wholesale bribery and sale of concessions—that used to prevail amongst native officials. Moreover, British engineers have regulated the waters of the Nile, upon which the prosperity of Egypt depends. New systems of irrigation have brought land into cultivation that was desert before, and increased doubly and trebly the productiveness of previously cultivated land, whilst the building of the great dam at Assouan (completed in 1902) has doubled the available supply of Nile water.

Yet it was natural, perhaps, that other European nations should look with some suspicion upon British motives in retaining Egypt; and the attitude of France especially was persistently hostile. As a consequence, great difficulties were experienced by Lord Cromer in dealing with Egyptian finance, which was still subjected, to some extent, to international control; but the *entente cordiale* with France, soon after the accession of Edward VII, led to an agreement by which France recognized the British position in Egypt,

[1] On Tewfik's death in 1892, Abbas II succeeded him.

[2] Lord Cromer retired in 1907, and was succeeded by Sir Eldon Gorst, and on the latter's death in 1911 Lord Kitchener was appointed.

and allowed Great Britain to fix her own time for the end of its occupation, whilst Great Britain in return recognized France's position in Morocco.

The British occupation gave British officers the chance to create an efficient Egyptian army, and in 1896 that army was strong enough to undertake, with the aid of British forces, the reconquest of the Soudan. Parts of the outside region of that country had already been acquired by other powers, by France and Italy, by Great Britain and Abyssinia, but the great mass of it was still, in 1896, under the cruel rule of the Khalifa, who had succeeded the Mahdi. General (afterwards Lord) Kitchener worked out the details of the campaigns in masterly fashion. In 1898 the main body of the Dervish forces, who fought with heroic bravery,[1] was finally destroyed at the battle of *Omdurman*, a battle which led to the capture of Khartoum, and the end of the Dervish rule. The fact that the population of the Soudan had sunk from eight millions to four and a half millions showed how merciless that rule had been. The Soudan was put under the joint control of Egypt and Great Britain in 1899, and since then has made steady progress.

Reconquest of Soudan, 1898.

2. The "Grab for Africa"

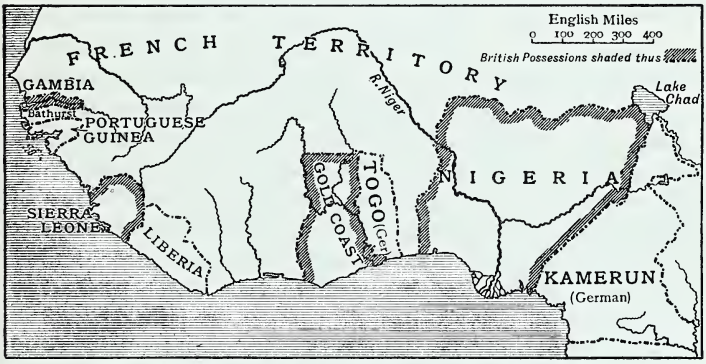
We turn from Egypt to other parts of Africa. It is said that between 1879 and 1889 Great Britain added to her possessions land equal in size to one-third of Europe. Some of these additions were in the East, such as Upper Burmah (1886); but the larger part of them was in Africa. During the first half of the nineteenth century the interior of Africa was almost unknown, but in the third quarter of the century the expeditions of explorers, and more especially of Livingstone and Stanley, aroused European interest. And then, in 1884, began what is called the "*grab for Africa*". The European powers, eager for new outlets, began a general scramble for

Beginning of "grab for Africa", 1884.

[1] "Our men were perfect," wrote an English correspondent, "but the Dervishes were superb—beyond perfection. Their riflemen, mangled by every form of death and torment that man can devise, clung round the black flag and the green, emptying their poor, rotten, home-made cartridges dauntlessly. Their spearmen charged death at every moment hopelessly."

new territories and "spheres of influence". The result was that France obtained in North-west Africa an enormous empire, stretching from Algiers to the Congo River, twenty times the size of France itself.[1] Germany obtained not far short of one million square miles on the east and west coasts of Africa, and Italy possessions bordering on the Red Sea or adjacent to it. King Leopold of Belgium had already formed the Congo Free State in 1880, and Portugal had extended her ancient possessions on either coast of Africa.

Great Britain herself was not behind other competitors. She



already possessed Cape Colony and Natal, Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast. To them she now added *Bechuanaland* and *Rhodesia*. On the west coast, chiefly through the enterprise of Sir George Goldie, a British company developed *Nigeria*, which has, since 1900, been a British Protectorate. On the east, the East Africa Company developed what are now known as the Protectorates of *British East Africa* and *Uganda*, the latter country being first penetrated about 1890. Moreover, protectorates were established over parts of Somaliland and Zanzibar respectively in 1884 and 1891. Needless to say, the scramble, whilst it was in progress, led to considerable diplomatic complications, which were, however, gradually overcome

Great Britain's share.

[1] Much of it, however, is the "light, sandy soil" of the Saharan desert. In 1911 France obtained a virtual Protectorate over Morocco, though she was obliged to give a large slice of her territories in the Congo as "compensation" to Germany.

by agreements between the various powers concerned. Great Britain was also engaged in various little wars in Uganda, in Nigeria, and with the Ashantees.

3. The Far East

(See Map, p. 697)

The Far East.

From Africa the scramble for territory spread to the Far East. Great Britain had already acquired, at the close of the eighteenth century, *Penang*, and, within ten years of the battle of Waterloo, *Malacca* and *Singapore*, these three being now known as the Straits Settlements. In the early seventies she obtained influence over the Malay States, which were finally federated under British protection in 1896, whilst in 1888 she obtained the protectorate of *North Borneo* and *Sarawak*, the latter state the creation of an Englishman, Rajah Brooke.[1] But there were still left the islands in the Pacific, for which there was a brisk competition between France, Germany, and Great Britain: the latter had acquired the *Fiji Islands*[2] in 1874, and she added various other islands towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Great Britain and Chinese Wars, 1840 and 1857-60.

At the close of the nineteenth century the rivalry between European nations was transferred to China. Here, however, as elsewhere, Great Britain had already acquired a long start. China, it must be remembered, boasted of possessing the oldest civilization in the world, and looked with contempt on the mushroom growth of European nations.[3] Consequently the action of Chinese officials was apt to be high-handed, and had already caused two wars between

[1] Rajah Brooke (died 1868), after running away from school, served for a time in the army of the East India Company. He subsequently inherited a fortune, bought a schooner, and sailed to Borneo in 1838, where he quickly established a great reputation with the natives. Unfortunately the coast tribes of Borneo were inveterate pirates and very cruel ones, the collection of as large a number of human heads as possible being with them a passionate hobby. Brooke aided the British navy to suppress piracy, and then became Rajah of Sarawak, a territory of some 28,000 square miles.

[2] The first effect, unfortunately, of British rule was an epidemic of measles which carried off one-third of the people.

[3] In the opinion of Chinamen, "all men under heaven" owed allegiance to their emperor, and in Chinese official documents the monarch of Great Britain was described as being "reverentially submissive", and as "having repeatedly paid tribute" to the Emperor of China.

Great Britain and China. The first occurred in 1840, when a Chinese Commissioner dealt in very summary fashion with British subjects who, with the connivance of minor officials, were smuggling opium into China. As a result of the war, *Hong-Kong* was ceded to Great Britain, and since that time the trade of Hong-Kong has been developed to such an extent that it now ranks amongst the six greatest ports in the world. The second war took place between 1857 and 1860, and was caused by the fact that Chinese officials had insulted our flag which was flying over a vessel trading at Canton. Great Britain was aided by France, and eventually China, after the Summer Palace at Pekin had been destroyed, agreed to pay a large indemnity, and to allow European ministers to reside at Pekin.

Later on, the other powers came in. France developed a large Empire to the south of China during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century; Russia occupied Port Arthur,[1] and gradually ate into the frontiers of northern China; Germany, in 1898, took advantage of the murder of two missionaries to acquire Kiau-Chau, whilst Great Britain acquired *Wei-hai-wei*. Meantime mining and railway concessions were obtained in different districts by Europeans. Chinamen, perhaps naturally, resented these foreign activities in their country, and the result was the creation of a patriotic society called the *Boxers*, who wanted all white men to be exterminated. The "Boxers" became supreme in Pekin, and proceeded to besiege the foreign legations (1901). Consequently an international force was sent, which successfully relieved the legations, and at the close of the military operations China had to pay a large indemnity. Now China is at last waking up, and many Europeans look with no little apprehension upon the probable effects of Chinese competition in the future.

The "Boxer" outbreak, 1901.

There have been, since the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, no great wars between European nations, but the trading and colonial rivalries between the Great Powers produced, at times, a considerable amount of friction. Thus Germany and Great Britain

[1] The Russians ceded Port Arthur to Japan in 1905, after the Russo-Japanese War.

found some difficulty in settling their boundaries in Africa. Great Britain incurred the ill will of France by her occupation of Egypt, whilst Great Britain herself was very suspicious of Russia's designs in Afghanistan and the Far East. Hence for many of the years after 1878 Great Britain was in a position of isolation, and at the time of the South African War in 1899 (p. 712) there is no doubt that Great Britain was extremely unpopular in Europe.

Isolation of Great Britain.

But with the accession of King Edward VII in 1901 Great Britain's position slowly improved.[1] Largely through the king's influence the attitude of the British and French nations towards one another became more friendly, with the result that in 1904 an agreement, as we have seen, was made between them which settled all their disputes. In the same year—1904—war broke out between Russia and Japan. The progress of the latter power had been marvellous in the previous forty years, and its success in the war revealed to Europe its enormous strength. Relations between Japan and Great Britain had been for some time cordial, and in 1905 a defensive alliance was made between them which strengthened the British position in the Far East.[2] Finally, soon after the Russo-Japanese War was over, the Governments of Russia and Great Britain began to enter into negotiations, and in 1907 an arrangement was made between them (see p. 695). Great Britain during the last few years has also strengthened her friendships with the smaller powers of Europe. Her relations, however, with the strongest of all Continental powers—with Germany—are still somewhat uneasy, many people in Great Britain being, rightly or wrongly, apprehensive of German ambitions.

The Treaties with France (1904), Japan (1905), and Russia (1907).

[1] The fact that eight monarchs, and that ex-presidents from France and America, came to England to attend King Edward VII's funeral showed the respect and affection which he had inspired in foreign countries.

[2] The alliance was renewed in 1911.

L. History of India since 1823

The treaty with Russia, referred to at the close of the last chapter, was concerned almost exclusively, so far as the British were concerned, with the security of India, and it may, therefore, be appropriate at this stage to return to the history of our great Indian Empire. That history has already been sketched till the end of Lord Hastings's rule in 1823 (Chap. XXXVIII), a rule which saw the final extension of our supremacy over the Native States in the interior, and we may now follow the course of events up till recent times. After 1823 the whole peninsula of India, from Cape Comorin in the south up to the Scinde frontier and the Sutlej River on the north, was under British authority. Part of this vast territory was directly governed by the British; part was under the control of native rulers, subject, however, to the supervision of the British Government. Meantime other rulerships had been created elsewhere. One dynasty had succeeded in founding the kingdom of Burmah, and was even threatening Eastern Bengal, and another had succeeded in uniting most of the tribes of Afghanistan into one strong state; whilst *Ranjit Singh* had established a great state in the Punjab—the land of five rivers—a territory which stretched from Peshawur and Kashmir in the north to the Sutlej River in the south.

Condition of India after 1823.

Difficulties soon arose between Great Britain and these independent rulers. The first war came in 1824–6 with *Burmah*, and on its conclusion the British obtained the cession of some territory and an indemnity. In 1839 occurred the *First Afghan War*. The frontiers of the Russian Empire and the British Empire were, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, some 2000 miles apart; but gradually, as these empires expanded, their frontiers approached one another, till, at the end of the century, they were at one place barely a dozen miles apart. In the north-west, Afghanistan was regarded by the British as a buffer state between their own empire in India and the Russian Empire; and the good will of its ruler was considered essential for the security of the former. Matters began

The First Afghan War, 1839–41.

to look critical in 1837—the year of Queen Victoria's accession. The Shah of Persia, with encouragement from Russia, attacked Herat, a great stronghold in North-west Afghanistan; and when the attack failed, Russian agents in the following year began to



intrigue with *Dost Mohammed*, who had usurped the governorship of the greater part of Afghanistan. *Lord Auckland*, the Governor-general of India, decided, somewhat unwisely, to depose Dost Mohammed, and to restore the prince whom Dost Mohammed had evicted. An expedition was accordingly sent;

Kabul, the capital, and Kandahar were captured, and the old ruler restored, whilst Dost Mohammed eventually surrendered himself to the British.

For two years there was peace, though the Afghans were sulky and sullen. Then, in 1841, came a great disaster. The British agent at Kabul was murdered. At the same time the military stores were captured by the Afghans, and the weak British brigade at Kabul found itself inadequately supplied with food and surrounded by hostile forces. After two months' resistance it was forced to negotiate with the leader of the Afghans, Dost Mohammed's eldest son, and, under promise of safe-conduct from him, it started in the depth of winter, four thousand strong, and accompanied by twelve thousand camp-followers, to retire to India. Of this whole number only one reached Jelalabad, the nearest British garrison; the rest, except for a few prisoners, perished either from the effect of exposure to the cold or from the knife and the musket of the Afghan. Such a fearful disaster had to be avenged. Two armies marched from India for Kabul, the one by Kandahar, under General Nott, and the other by the Khyber Pass, under General Pollock. They arrived at the capital within a day of each other, burnt the great bazaar, rescued the prisoners, and returned, leaving Dost Mohammed to resume the throne. It is now generally agreed that the British made a mistake in deposing Dost Mohammed and in interfering in Afghanistan. Moreover, the tragic annihilation of the Kabul garrison upset the belief in British invincibility, and was not without its effect upon the subsequent mutiny.

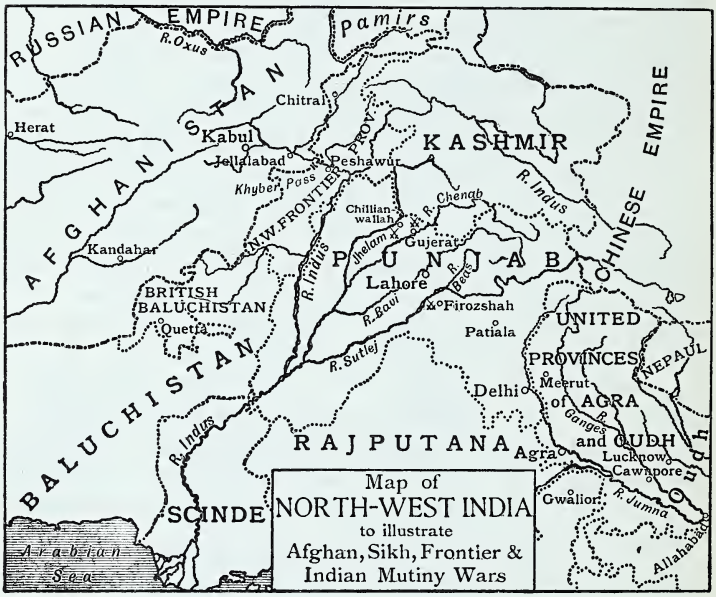
The First Afghan War was the beginning of a series of campaigns, which lasted, with little intermission, till the final suppression of the Mutiny in 1859. Difficulties with the rulers of *Scinde*, as the lower valley of the Indus is called, led to a brilliant campaign against them undertaken by Sir C. Napier.[1] The subsequent annexation was described as "a very advantageous, useful, and humane piece of rascality", giving, as it did, for the first time the benefits of a strong and honest administration to the inhabitants.

Annexation of Scinde, 1843.

[1] Napier's punning dispatch announcing the conquest of the country—"Peccavi, I have Scinde"—showed his own doubts as to whether hostilities were altogether justified.

The Sikh Wars, 1846, and 1848-9.

Our next war arose as a consequence of the death of the "Lion of the Punjab", as Ranjit Singh was called. He had been careful to keep on good terms with the British Government, but on his death, in 1839, there was no strong man to succeed him. Consequently there came a period of turbulence and anarchy inseparable from a



series of disputed successions. Finally, a military committee became supreme, and proceeded to invade British territory. War therefore became inevitable. The inhabitants of the Punjab were mainly *Sikhs*, who were members of a Hindoo religious sect founded in the fifteenth century; and Ranjit Singh had recruited from amongst these Sikhs an army of some eighty thousand, who have been compared for their steadiness and religious zeal to Cromwell's famous "Ironsides". The two Sikh wars were consequently the most formidable and stubborn that the British had to fight during the whole course of their conquest of India.

In the first war (1845) the British won four pitched battles in three weeks, one of them, that of *Firozshah*, being described as "the most bloody and obstinate contest ever fought by Anglo-Indian troops". That war ended in an unsatisfactory peace, and hostilities soon reopened. In the second war (1848–9) the first battle was at *Chilianwallah*; here the British, though they managed to take the Sikh position, lost two thousand four hundred men killed and wounded, besides four guns and the colours of three regiments. A splendid victory, however, at *Gujerat* five weeks later destroyed the Sikh army. For the first two hours the artillery was used with splendid effect, and then a general advance carried the Sikh position. "We stood two hours in hell," so a Sikh described the battle, "and then we saw six miles of infantry." In both wars the commander-in-chief was *Lord Gough*. No one has ever doubted his bravery and persistence.[1] But his conduct of the war was much attacked at the time. His "Tipperary tactics"—he came from County Tipperary—were condemned as precipitate, and he was too fond of frontal attacks with the bayonet to make sufficient use of flank movements and artillery fire. His last victory was, however, a fine achievement.

The victory at Gujerat left the British masters of the Punjab. The country was annexed; and some of the most capable men in India, including Henry and John Lawrence, were sent to govern it. They inaugurated a period of peace and good government, which increased the prosperity and happiness of all the inhabitants. Consequently, when the Mutiny of 1857 broke out, the Punjab remained not merely passively quiescent but actively loyal.

The Second Sikh War had been fought whilst *Lord Dalhousie* was governor-general, and he was responsible for the annexation of the Punjab. But the Punjab was not the only extension of British territory which took place during his rule of eight years (1848–56). Outrages upon British merchants and insults to the British flag necessitated a fresh war with Burmah in 1852, and led to the annexation of *Lower Burmah* and the mouths of the Irawaddy River. The misgovern-

Lord Dalhousie's rule, 1848–56.

[1] "He was as brave", said one of his fellow-officers, "as ten lions each with two sets of teeth and two tails"; and a saying of his, "I never was bate, and never shall be bate" (he spoke with a strong Irish brogue), has been often quoted.

ment of *Oudh* by its rulers had been so scandalous that the East India Company sent orders for its annexation, which Dalhousie carried out in 1856. Moreover, Lord Dalhousie himself was strongly of opinion that the direct rule of the British was much superior to native rule; and he consequently refused, in certain cases, to sanction the old custom by which Hindoo princes who had no children of their own might adopt heirs to succeed them. Thus, when the rulers of *Nagpur* and of *Jhansi*, in Central India, died without direct heirs, their territories "lapsed" to the Company.

So far we have been concerned with the extension of the British control in India, but it must not be supposed that the efforts of British rulers were not directed to bettering the lot of their subjects. On the contrary, especially during the governorship of *Lord William Bentinck* (1828–35) and *Lord Dalhousie* (1848–56), great reforms were made. The former abolished *suttee*, as the compulsory suicide of Hindoo widows on the death of their husbands was called;[1] suppressed the *thugs*, bands of hereditary assassins who roamed about India strangling travellers; encouraged educated natives to take a share in the government; made important financial reforms; and initiated a measure for giving liberty of the press. The latter reorganized the internal administration of India; developed canals; introduced the telegraph, the railway, and cheap postage; and encouraged education. Indeed Lord Dalhousie must be regarded, whether as empire builder or reformer, as one of the greatest of our proconsuls.

Social progress, 1823-56.

Lord Dalhousie's policy, however, was one cause of the Indian Mutiny in 1857. Western reforms mystified and unsettled the Eastern mind, and natives thought that the world was being turned upside down. To many natives the telegraph was magic, whilst the railway threatened the caste system because people of different castes had to travel together in the same carriage. It was even thought that all British projects of reform had but one design—the destruction of the Hindoo religion. Again, the annexation policy of Lord Dalhousie, though undertaken with the best intentions, had aroused distrust. It was unfortunate, moreover, that *Lord Canning*, Lord Dalhousie's

Causes of Mutiny of 1857.

[1] During one year in Bengal alone no less than eight hundred widows were burnt to death.

successor, was not made aware of the peculiar conditions of land tenure in Oudh, and that his subordinates aroused the hostility of the great landowners in that province by a settlement of the land which did the landed aristocracy grievous injustice. Consequently, in the Mutiny, the landowners of Oudh were against the British.

But there were other causes of the Mutiny. It was primarily a mutiny of the Sepoys, and the causes were largely military. The native troops outnumbered the British by eight to one; they thought that the success of the British was due to them, and their opinion of British invincibility had been shaken by the Afghan and subsequently by the Crimean War. Moreover, an old prophecy that the rule of the British would end one hundred years after the Battle of Plassey was not without its effect. The occasion for the Mutiny arose, however, when the Enfield rifle was substituted for "Brown Bess". In those days the soldier had to bite the cartridge with his teeth, and the report spread like wildfire that the cartridges for the new rifle were smeared with the fat of cows and the lard of pigs. The cow was sacred to the Hindoos, whilst the pig was an abomination to the Mohammedans. The story may have had some slight foundation of truth in it.[1] At all events the Sepoys believed it, and the agitators against British rule thus found a ready illustration of the deceitful designs of the British upon the sacred religions of the Indian peoples, and a cry which united the Hindoo and the Mohammedan in a common opposition.

Outbreak of Mutiny, May, 1857.

On Sunday afternoon, May 10, 1857, the Mutiny broke out at *Meerut*, where the Sepoys shot their officers and murdered what Europeans they could capture. From Meerut the mutineers streamed to *Delhi*, some 40 miles away, persuaded the native regiments stationed there to join in the rising, and proclaimed the descendant of the old Mogul Emperor, who still lived in the palace at Delhi, as ruler of India. About three weeks later, the Mutiny spread to the garrisons in Oudh and in the Ganges valley. The British position then

[1] The cartridges had to be greased in order to fit into the groove of the barrel. Though the evidence is conflicting, it is probable that some of these cartridges—though they were almost immediately recalled—were smeared, by some mistake, with the ingredients to which objection was taken.

appeared desperate. The districts affected by the Mutiny equalled in area France, Austria, and Prussia put together, and were inhabited by some ninety-four millions of people. The British soldiers in all India numbered only thirty-nine thousand men, and at the opening of the Mutiny there were but three British regiments between Calcutta and Meerut. The revolting Sepoys were in possession of the old capital of Delhi, and had secured a figure-head in the Mogul king; they had shut up one British garrison at Cawnpore and another at Lucknow, the capital of Oudh; and to these three centres the mutineers were flocking from the other garrisons of northern India.

The Indian Mutiny is, perhaps, the most tragic episode in our history. British officers were so confident in the loyalty of their own native regiments that they refused to take precautions, and were pitilessly shot by their men. Many white women and children were barbarously murdered, and the sufferings of the men and women besieged during the intense heat of that Indian midsummer were more fearful than can be imagined. But all else pales before the horrors of *Cawnpore*. The Europeans there, numbering some two hundred and fifty fighting men, and more than double that number of women, children, and invalids, took refuge in an open plain, defended by small earthworks. For eighteen days in the scorching heat they were exposed to attacks made by thousands of rebels. At the end of that time their position was hopeless, and they accepted the offer of a safe-conduct by boat down the river made by *Nana Sahib*, a prince who had joined the rebels because he had not received from the British Government a pension to which he thought he was entitled. The garrison marched to the river. But when they had embarked, a murderous fire was opened upon them; many were killed or drowned, and of the survivors the men were pursued and butchered save four, who managed to escape, whilst the women and children were captured and imprisoned. A fortnight later Nana Sahib gave orders for the slaughter of these prisoners, two hundred and ten in number; the horrible work was done, and the bodies, the dead with the dying, were thrown down a well (July 15).

The massacre of Cawnpore, July, 1857.

Never, however, did the British race display more heroic quali-

ties than at this crisis in its history. When the mutineers, at the opening of the Mutiny, reached Delhi, *Lieutenant Willoughby*, with a little garrison of eight men, defended the great magazine of Delhi against hundreds of assailants, and then blew it up so that the mutineers should not gain possession of it. In the Punjab, *John Lawrence*, aided by *Edwardes*, *Chamberlain*, and *John Nicholson*, stamped out with stern and untiring energy the beginnings of mutiny amongst the regiments stationed in that province. A British force of barely four thousand men advanced upon Delhi, won a battle against overwhelming numbers, occupied the famous *Ridge*, which stretched to within three-quarters of a mile of the city walls, and held it against the desperate sorties of the thirty thousand Sepoys who defended the city. *Havelock* and one thousand five hundred men, in an attempt to save Cawnpore, marched in nine days, in an Indian July, one hundred and twenty-six miles, and fought four actions. The garrison in the Residency grounds of Lucknow—its gallant commander, Henry Lawrence, was killed on the second day of the siege—consisted of only a thousand British fighting men and seven hundred loyal Sepoys. It had to defend an enclosure a mile in circumference, made up of detached buildings and gardens connected by palisades and ditches, against an enemy which could bring up artillery within one hundred and fifty yards, and occupy houses within fifteen yards of its defences. Yet for eighty-seven days it successfully held this position against all attempts at storming, and the still greater dangers of mining, made by hugely superior forces.

British heroism.

Yet the heroism of British soldiers must not lead us to forget the services of those natives who were loyal. The native armies of Bombay and Madras remained unaffected by the revolting Sepoys. The native princes, for the most part, held aloof from the Mutiny; and some gave the British active assistance, such as the chief of Patiala, who protected the great road running from the Punjab to Delhi. Sepoys fought bravely for us in the Residency at Lucknow, and on the "Ridge" at Delhi. The Guides, for instance, horse and foot, started for Delhi at six hours' notice, and marched "at the hottest season of the year through the hottest region on earth" for twenty-one

Native loyalty.

days at an average of twenty-seven miles a day. Their bravery in the operations at Delhi, when they lost half their men, and all their British officers were either killed or wounded, was only equalled by that of the Gurkhas. Moreover, even some of the revolting regiments protected their officers and aided them to escape, whilst touching stories are told of the fidelity shown by native servants towards the British women and children.

By the end of *September* the critical period of the Mutiny was over. In the previous month the "Ridge" had been reinforced by a column from the Punjab under John Nicholson. Owing largely to Nicholson's heroism and energy, Delhi was finally stormed on the 14th September, though Nicholson himself was mortally wounded. Five days of street fighting followed before the rebels were completely expelled from the city. Havelock, through no fault of his own, had arrived too late to save Cawnpore, but he and Outram, "the Bayard of India", were able to fight their way to Lucknow and to relieve the garrison (September 25), though they were in turn besieged when they got there. Reinforcements then began to pour in from Great Britain. In *November*, Colin Campbell was able to make a further advance upon Lucknow, and the Residency was again relieved and the troops withdrawn.

Storming of Delhi (Sept.) and relief of Lucknow (Sept. and Nov.), 1857.

It took some time, however, before the Mutiny was finally suppressed. The city of Lucknow was not finally captured till 1858. In the same year a brilliant campaign was carried out by Sir Hugh Rose in Central India, where the Mutiny had spread, and not till the spring of 1859 were hostilities completely at an end. Stern punishment was meted out to those who deserved it, as the tragedies of the Mutiny, and especially of Cawnpore, made it impossible for the British to be altogether merciful. That considerable severity should be shown in revenge was inevitable, but the governor-general, Lord Canning, successfully exerted his influence on behalf of clemency.[1]

The Mutiny marks an epoch in Indian history. In the first place, the queen's Government became directly responsible for

[1] He was called "Clemency Canning"—a nickname which was first given in impatience and anger, but remained to be an honour.

the government of India, and the rule of the East India Company came to an end. This was announced by a Proclamation of the queen in November, 1858, the felicitous wording of which was due to the suggestions which the queen made to the prime minister, Lord Derby. Some years later, in 1877, the assumption by the queen of the title of Empress of India symbolized the change. Secondly, in India itself the period of warfare came to an end. For the last fifty years the *Pax Britannica* has been imposed upon India, and no hostilities have occurred in the interior of that vast continent. Thirdly, the Mutiny affected the policy of the British. Reforms were in future undertaken with a due regard to native susceptibilities. Lord Dalhousie's policy of annexing native states on the failure of direct heirs was abandoned. The proportion of British troops to native troops was increased, and care was taken that the artillery should be worked mainly by British soldiers.

Results of Mutiny.

Over the history of India since 1857 we must pass briefly. Suspicion of Russian designs was the most prominent characteristic in the foreign policy of the Indian Government. Russian intrigues at Kabul led to a *Second Afghan War* (1878–80). The Amir of Afghanistan was deposed, and the new Amir had to consent to receive a British resident. In a few months the resident was murdered and his escort of Guides killed after an heroic defence. Hence a campaign had to be undertaken, which was famous for the march of *Sir F.* (afterwards Lord) *Roberts* from Kabul to Kandahar. Eventually a prince called *Abdur Rahman* was made Amir, and the British then retired. Abdur Rahman (died 1901) and his successor kept on good terms with the Indian Government, which gave to the Amir a large annual subsidy for the maintenance of an army of defence to guard against the dangers of a Russian invasion.

The Second Afghan War, 1878–80.

The relations between Russia and British India remained uneasy and suspicious for some time after the Afghan War, and hostilities were at times imminent, especially in 1884. The Russians were suspected of attempting an advance upon India through Persia, and their railway extension to the edge of the Afghan frontier was

Anglo-Russian Convention, 1907.

viewed with apprehension. The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 has, however, relieved the situation. Russia recognized Afghanistan as outside her sphere of influence, and undertook to conduct political negotiations with the Amir only through Great Britain. On the north-east frontier the situation was made more secure, as both Great Britain and Russia undertook not to interfere with the domestic affairs of Thibet or to annex any part of its territory. Great Britain at the same time recognized the special interests of Russia in North Persia, whilst Russia recognized those of Great Britain in the south-east of that country, which included that frontier of Persia which marches with our own Indian frontier.

The defences of India.

But the easiest access to India is by sea and not by land, and the approaches to India by that element have been carefully guarded. *Aden*, at the mouth of the Red Sea, belongs to Great Britain, and the purchase of the Suez Canal shares by Disraeli (see p. 674) has given Great Britain a large control over that canal. In the *Persian Gulf* the position of Great Britain has long been dominant. It was Great Britain who made the gulf safe for commerce, and she has made treaties with the tribes that border its shores.

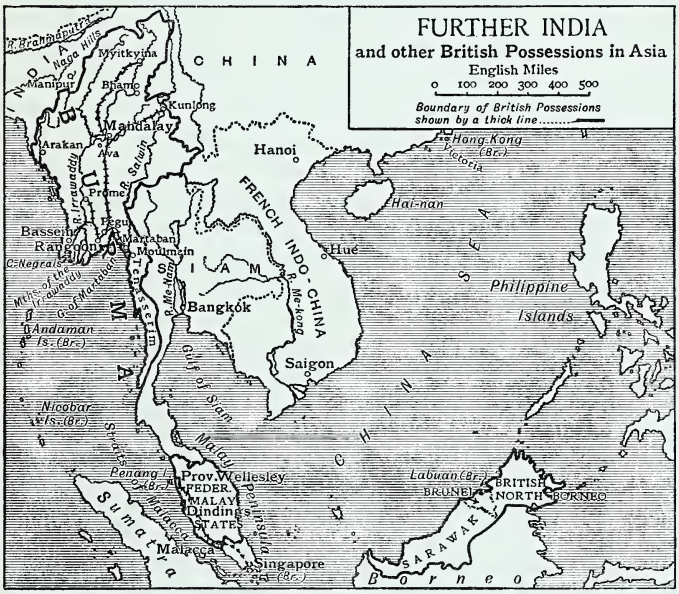
Extension of Indian Empire since 1857.

Meantime since the Mutiny the land frontier of India has been extended. The *Second Afghan War* led to the annexation of Quetta and other districts in the south-east of Afghanistan. A *Third Burmese War* was forced upon Great Britain in 1885, and led to the annexation of Upper Burmah. Gradually, moreover, our suzerainty was proclaimed over the tribes in the north-west, which live in the hills between the plains of India and the frontier of Afghanistan. In 1893 our supremacy over them was recognized by Afghanistan, but, except in certain districts, we have left the tribesmen to govern or misgovern themselves. As with the Highlanders of old, plunder is the romance of their lives; and to rob and kill one another, and to combine in making raids upon the neighbouring plains, has been their main occupation for generations. The raids which they have made, besides the more dangerous combinations that have been organized under the influence of fanatical Mohammedan priests, have necessitated various expedi-

tions, such as those to *Chitral* (1895) and *Tirah* (1897), and the campaign against the *Zakka Khels* and the *Mohmands* in 1908.

But the main energies of British statesmen in India since the Mutiny have been occupied in promoting the welfare of the two hundred and thirty millions of people under their own immediate control, as well as keeping in touch with the six hundred rulers of native States who govern, "under

Social progress since 1859.



undefined and undefinable British control", sixty millions of subjects. The British in India have developed what is, in some respects, the most efficient, and, so far as its higher branches at all events are concerned, one of the least corrupt administrations in the world. They have secured internal peace, and fought, as far as human agency is able to fight, against the twin horrors of India, the plague and the famine. They have built railways and canals. They have organized a most efficient medical service, and they have encouraged education.

The awakening of the East, however, has affected India as well as other countries. The movements in Japan and in China, in Persia and in Turkey, have not been without their influence upon India. It is natural that the educated natives in India, who still of course form but a tiny fraction of the population, should, as a result of the education on Western lines provided for them by their British governors, wish to have more self-government. Consequently there has been of recent years a certain unrest in India, as well as some seditious movements. This desire for a greater share in the government has been realized by the British nation. Natives of India, who have always filled almost exclusively the lower branches of the administration, have been admitted to the higher branches as well, and legislative councils have been set up. Under Lord Minto and Lord Morley's administration of India (1906–10),[1] further changes have been made. A larger elective element has been introduced into the viceroy's legislative council, which has been increased in numbers, whilst legislative councils have also been extended to every province, and their powers have been developed. Finally, two natives of India have been nominated to sit on the secretary of state's Indian council in London, whilst one native is henceforth to be a member of the viceroy's executive council in India.

Indian unrest.

Great Britain has accomplished, in the opinion of a French historian, one miracle in uniting Hindoos and Mohammedans, Sikhs and Bengalis, Parsees and Christians, under one sceptre; whether she will ever be able to accomplish another miracle by combining, in an Eastern country, the two ideals of good government and self-government remains to be seen. But what the future relations may be between Great Britain and the Indian peoples no one can prophesy. At the beginning of the twentieth century the haunting questions which, according to a recent viceroy, British statesmen have always before them remain still unanswered—what is in the heart of these sombre millions in India? whither are we leading them? what is it all to come to? where is the goal?

The future of India.

[1] Lord Minto as viceroy in India, and Lord Morley as secretary of state in England.

LI. The Self-governing Colonies and their History

We turn from India, the scene of one of the most benevolent and efficient despotisms in the world's history, to a unique product of the British Empire—the *Self-Governing Colony*. The problem that Great Britain had to solve in the nineteenth century was a difficult one. How was a colony "to be a daughter in her mother's house and be a mistress in her own"? How was Great Britain to give to her colonies the control over their own affairs, and yet preserve any connection with them? To British statesmen, both Whigs and Tories, these two objects for long appeared, in the words of the Duke of Wellington, "completely incompatible". In Canada, however, a solution was at last achieved, and we must now trace briefly how this was accomplished.

The problem of self-government.

1. Canada and Newfoundland

It may be remembered that Canada, by an Act passed in 1791, was divided into two provinces, an Upper and a Lower, each possessing a governor who was nominated by the British ministry, a legislative council nominated by the British governor, and an elected assembly. Soon after 1815 discontent with this form of government began to develop, for the assembly had no control over the expenditure or the ministry, and, not unnaturally, desired it. The situation was aggravated owing to the fact that in Upper Canada the offices of state were monopolized by a few families, whilst in Lower Canada there was constant friction between the French and the British colonists, who were, it was said, so hostile to one another "that they only met in the jury-box, and then only to the utter obstruction of justice". The discontent came to a head in 1837, just after Queen Victoria's accession.[1] In that year there were in both provinces small rebel-

The Canadian rebellion, 1837.

[1] When the *Te Deum* for Queen Victoria's accession was sung, many of the congregations in Lower Canada walked out.

lions, which, however, were put down without difficulty. But the country was full of unrest, and it seemed, in the words of Peel, that "another Ireland might grow up in every colony which Great Britain possessed".

In 1838, however, *Lord Durham* was sent out with full powers to deal with the situation.[1] Lord Durham, it has been said, was the first British statesman since Chatham who recognized the latent possibilities of the empire, and he was long enough in Canada to be able to issue a report which marks an epoch in the history of our colonial policy. In that report he advocated, first, the grant to the colonial assembly of full control in nearly all internal affairs; and secondly, the union of the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. His second proposal was adopted first; and in 1841 these two provinces were joined, and a new constitution drawn up. But Canada did not have to wait long for responsible government; for in 1847 *Lord Elgin*, Lord Durham's son-in-law, was made governor. He adopted the same position for himself as that which the monarch occupied in the mother country; that is to say, he left to a ministry dependent upon a majority in the popular assembly the responsibility for the conduct of affairs, whilst reserving to himself the right to give advice, and in times of crisis to intervene. With Lord Elgin's seven years' governorship of Canada the self-governing colony became an accomplished fact, and before long the other colonies achieved the same measure of independence.

Development of self-government in Canada.

Upper and Lower Canada were united; but it still remained for these two provinces to be federated, first with the maritime provinces to the east, and then with the great territories to the west and north, which had yet to be developed. The former was accomplished on July 1, 1867, when the Dominion of Canada was created, federating *Ontario* and *Quebec*, as the old Upper and Lower Provinces were called, with *Nova Scotia* and *New Brunswick*. The latter came by slow degrees as the north-west was opened up. In 1870 Canada purchased the vast territories of the Hudson Bay

The Dominion of Canada (1867) and its growth.

[1] His somewhat high-handed action, however, in deporting to Bermuda eight of the leaders of the recent rebellion, without any form of trial, led to a storm of indignation in England, and to his own resignation after a bare five months' residence in Canada.

Company, and formed out of part of them the province of *Manitoba*, whilst a year later *British Columbia* was added to the Dominion; and in 1905 *Alberta* and *Saskatchewan* were created.[1] Into the wonderful development of Canada during recent years it is not our province to enter. The resources of Canada, first perhaps realized owing to the building in the eighties of the Canadian Pacific Railway, offer opportunities of almost illimitable expansion; and of late years the expansion has been proceeding at so rapid a pace that the Dominion of Canada seems destined before long to rival, in population and wealth, its great neighbour the United States.

The United States had failed to conquer Canada or to detach her from her allegiance to Great Britain both in 1775 and in 1812; but many Canadians are, rightly or wrongly, of opinion that the supineness and weakness of British statesmen enabled this neighbour unduly to curtail Canadian boundaries. There were three important frontier disputes. The first, which affected Canada's frontiers in the east, was settled by the *Ashburton Treaty* of 1842, which recognized the claims of the United States to a wedge of territory between New Brunswick and Quebec. The second concerned the Far West, and was the subject of a compromise in 1846, the United States keeping Oregon, whilst British Columbia and Vancouver were retained for the British Empire. The third concerned the boundary of *Alaska*, which the United States had purchased from Russia. The matter was in 1903 referred to arbitration, and the decision on the whole favoured the American claims, for the sea boundary flanking the Yukon territories—which belonged to Canada and are now important because of the goldfields—was awarded to the United States.

Frontier disputes with United States.

2. Australia and New Zealand

We may appropriately pass from the Dominion of Canada to say something of two other self-governing colonies whose relations with Canada are becoming closer every year—Australia and New

[1] Newfoundland obtained self-government in 1855, but has preferred to remain politically unattached to the Dominion.

Zealand. In the eighteenth century it was thought that the best way of dealing with criminals was to transport them into the colonies and there let them make a fresh start. At one time they had been sent to the American colonies, but when these became independent in 1776 it was necessary to find some fresh country for this purpose. Captain Cook about the same time, between 1769 and 1777, had made his famous voyages to Australia and New Zealand. Dutch voyagers in the early years, and the famous buccaneer Captain Dampier in the last years of the seventeenth century, had previously visited Australia, but the voyages of Captain Cook were the first which drew attention to its possibilities for European settlement. It was accordingly decided to transport prisoners there, and the first expedition, some one thousand eight hundred strong, and composed chiefly of convicts, arrived at Port Jackson in 1788. It is said that England only won Australia by six days; for six days after the arrival of this expedition a French ship was seen in the offing, though it disappeared again when it saw the British ships.

Early settlements in Australia.

In later years fresh batches of prisoners from Great Britain arrived, and the colony of *New South Wales*, as it was called, began to progress, more especially when the capacity of the country for sheep raising was realized. It was, however, no easy task to control the convicts, and still less easy to supervise the guards who were supposed to look after them; but it must be remembered that in those days the penal code in England was extremely severe, and many of the convicts, who had been often transported for slight offences, developed into excellent colonists. In the nineteenth century convicts still continued to be sent to Australia, but before long it was felt that Australia could never develop as it should so long as the system of transportation lasted; and no convict was sent to New South Wales after 1840, or to any other part of Australia after 1867. Meanwhile a great many free colonists had arrived, and the other provinces of Australia were gradually formed. *Tasmania* was settled in the early years of the nineteenth century, *Western Australia* in 1829, and *South Australia* six years later, whilst *Victoria* and *Queensland* became separate colonies, the

Growth of Australian colonies.

one at the beginning the other at the end of the fifties. It was also in the fifties that discoveries of gold were made, which caused an enormous immigration into these colonies; and this was followed by the grant of self-government to nearly all the provinces in 1855. We cannot touch upon the story of the later development of Australia, except to mention that the various provinces were federated together and became the *Commonwealth of Australia* in 1900.

The two islands of Zealand were annexed by Great Britain in 1840, and in this case the French were anticipated, not by six days, but by some six months. There were severe hostilities for some time with the natives, the *Maoris*, who fought cleverly and bravely behind their fortified stockades. The country has prospered as a British colony, and self-government was granted to it in 1855, and fifty years later it became the *Dominion of New Zealand*. In its government and policy it is perhaps the most democratic of all the colonies in the British Empire.

New Zealand.

3. South Africa

From the Dominion of New Zealand we turn to the most recently united of our colonies, to South Africa. Neither the poet nor the historian has yet arisen to do justice to its varied and romantic story. But the *Union of South Africa*, achieved in 1909, marks the end of a period during which South Africa, to a degree perhaps unexampled in the annals of any other country, has been "the sport of circumstance", and enables the historian to survey that story with a more impartial mind than was perhaps previously possible.

South Africa.

The *Cape of Good Hope* was first discovered by the Portuguese in 1486. At first it was regarded merely as a port of call on the way to the Far East, and it was chiefly because of its value as a halfway house to its Eastern possessions that the Dutch established a station there in 1652. The Dutch, however, then began to settle in Cape Colony, and at the close of the seventeenth century these Dutch settlers were reinforced by Huguenot exiles from France. In the last years of the

Early history of Cape.

eighteenth century, when Holland was occupied by the French, Great Britain captured and held Cape Colony, but she gave it back at the Peace of Amiens in 1802. Later on, however, Great Britain recaptured it, and in 1814 her title was formally recognized, on a certain sum being paid for its purchase.

In order to make the complicated story of South Africa subsequent to 1815 clearer, three points should be borne in mind. In the first place, Great Britain for some time, like Holland in former years, regarded the Cape chiefly as a halfway house to India, as a place where ships bound for India could obtain water and victuals. She was jealous of retaining exclusive control over the sea borders of South Africa, but she was extremely reluctant to increase her territory or her responsibilities in the interior; she was anxious, indeed, to draw in the horns of Empire rather than to extend them.

Position after 1815.

Secondly, the Dutch at the Cape, or *Boers* as they came to be called, had altered little in character since their first settlement in the country. Upon them, as with the Puritans of the seventeenth century in England, whom indeed they resembled in many respects, it was the teaching in the Old Testament rather than that in the New that had the greater hold. They had the same intense conviction as the Puritans that God was with them in all their decisions, and the supreme self-confidence and self-righteousness that such a conviction engendered. And the rugged, obstinate, simple Boer farmer, incurably suspicious of everything new, and ardently tenacious of his rights, had little in common with the eager sympathies, progressive ideas, and, it must be added, the somewhat ignorant sentimentality which characterized a large portion of the British public during the nineteenth century.

Thirdly, there was an enormous coloured and semi-barbarous population in South Africa; part belonged to the Hottentot race, but the great majority of tribes, such as the Kaffirs, Zulus, and Basutos, belonged to the race of the *Bantus*. Even at the present time, in the territories comprising the Union of South Africa, the Kaffirs outnumber the people of European descent by six to one, and, of course, a hundred years previous to the Union the disproportion was much greater, the total number of Europeans in South Africa in 1815 being only some thirty thousand.

It was the native question which first produced friction between Boer and Briton. Allusion has already been made to the growth of humanitarian sentiments in Great Britain during the nineteenth century. It was natural that these sentiments should affect the opinion of Great Britain as to the relations which ought to exist between the white and coloured races. Gradually it was felt that slavery and the slave trade could continue no longer in British territories. Great Britain, owing largely to the influence of Wilberforce, had made a beginning, in 1807, by prohibiting the slave trade, the horrors of which it is impossible to exaggerate; and at the Congress of Vienna (1814) she had persuaded the other European nations to follow her example. In 1833 Great Britain went a step further and prohibited slavery in the British dominions. The British planters in the *West Indies* were the chief people affected by this law. They had hitherto depended upon the slaves who had been exported at various times from Africa for the working of the sugar plantations. To compensate them for their loss a sum of twenty millions was voted to them by the British Parliament. At the same time the slaves were to remain for a period of years as apprentices to their old masters. But the apprentice system was a failure, and led to the complete emancipation of the slaves in 1838. There was considerable friction between the Jamaican planters and the British ministry over this and other questions, which finally led to the suspension of the Jamaican constitution (1839).

The abolition of slavery, 1833.

But the Dutch at the Cape also possessed slaves, chiefly imported from the Malay States and parts of Africa, and they were affected by the law of 1833. They received compensation, it is true, but only to about one-third of the real value of their slaves. The abolition of slavery, however, did not so much rankle in the Dutch mind as the conferment, five years previously, in 1828, upon the native races in Cape Colony of the same political rights as Europeans possessed. The natives were regarded by the Boers as belonging to an inferior race, and so destined to be for all time hewers of wood and drawers of water for the white race. Besides, their numbers and turbulence made them a constant source of danger

The native question at the Cape.

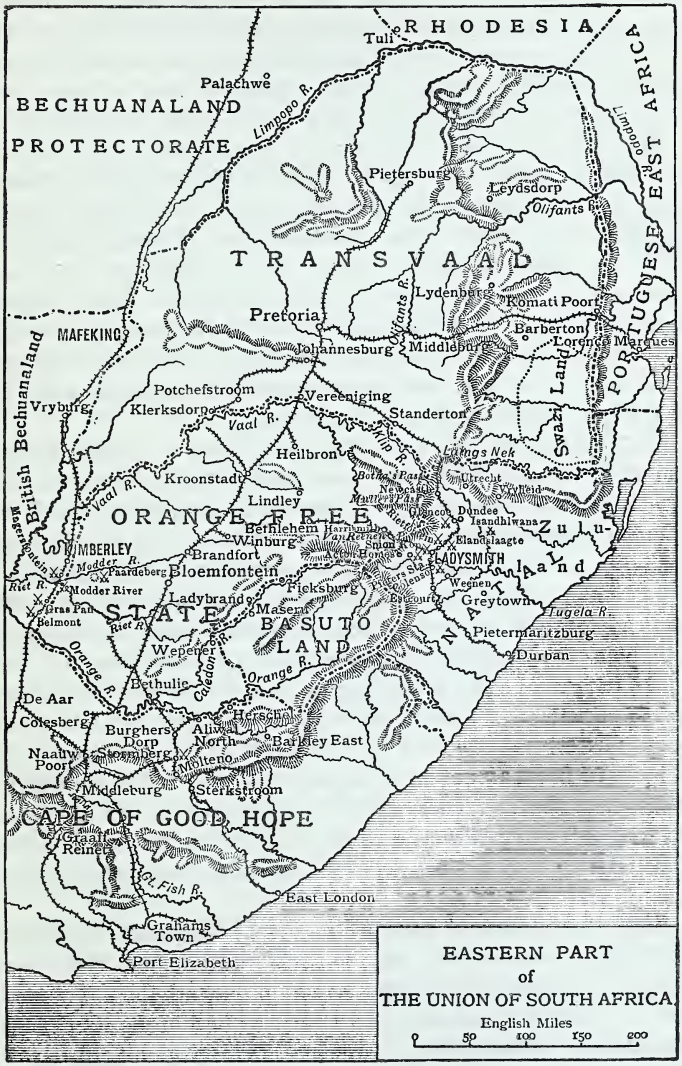
to the colonists, and the Boer treatment of them, though perhaps not often unjust, was not tempered with much mercy. Many people in Great Britain, on the other hand, looked upon the natives as peaceful tribes persistently bullied by the Boers, a belief due in a large measure to the reports of British missionaries in South Africa.

It was this difference in view, besides other smaller grievances, that led, in 1836, to what is known as the *Great Trek*. A large number of Boers, with their wives and children, their rifles and their Bibles, their oxen and wagons, left Cape Colony and went north and east to seek some place where they would be left in peace to do as they pleased. In ten years' time it is said that as many thousands of people departed from British territory. Some went across the mountains into *Natal*, in which district a few British emigrants had already settled; but when the Boers tried to reach the sea coast the British Government was alarmed, and in 1843 Natal was annexed to the Empire. The Boers resisted, and on their failure many left the colony. In the years to come Natal was settled chiefly by British colonists, and became predominantly British in race and sentiment. Other Boers settled in the land between the Orange and the Vaal rivers. After a time this was also annexed by Great Britain, but in 1854 the independence of the Boers in that country was recognized by Great Britain, and the land became known as the *Orange Free State*, having its capital at Bloemfontein. Other Boers, again, went even farther north beyond the Vaal River, and their independence was also recognized, in 1852, by Great Britain under what is known as the Sand River Convention. The country which they inhabited was called the *Transvaal*, and its capital, before long, was Pretoria.

The Great Trek, 1836.

The Boers in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State fondly hoped that they were free from British interference; and indeed the British Government had no desire for any responsibility beyond the Orange River. Circumstances, however, forced the British boundary forward. Hostilities between the Orange Free State and the Basutos caused the British Government to declare *Basutoland* a British protectorate in 1868. The discovery of diamonds near what is now known as

Basutoland and Kimberley.


RHODESIA
Tuli
Palachwe
BECHUANALAND
PROTECTORATE
Limpopo R.
Pietersburg
Leydsdorp
Olifants R.
TRANSVAAL
Lydenburg
Komati Poort
Pretoria
Barberton
Lorenco Marques
MAFEKING
Johannesburg
Middelburg
Potchefstroom
Vereeniging
Vryburg
Klerksdorp
Vaal R.
Standerton
Heilbron
Limpopo R.
Swaziland
PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA
British Bechuanaland
Kroonstad
Lindley
Utrecht
Dundee
ORANGE FREE STATE
Bethlehem
Harrismith
Isandhlwana
Zulu-land
KIMBERLEY
Winburg
Brandfort
Vet R.
Modder R.
Bloemfontein
Ficksburg
Elandslaagte
LADYSMITH
Wessel's Nek
Wepener
Ladybrand
Masern
Caledon R.
Orange R.
Wegnen
Greytown
Tugela R.
BASUTO LAND
Pietermaritzburg
Durban
Bethulie
De Aar
Colesberg
Burghers Dorp
Aliwal North
Barkley East
Naauw Poort
Stormberg
Middleburg
Sterkstroom
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE
Great Fish R.
East London
Grahams Town
Port Elizabeth
EASTERN PART
of
THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
English Miles
0 50 100 150 200

Kimberley, led to an enormous rush of people, chiefly of British origin, and the British Government, to preserve order and protect the interests of their own subjects, annexed the whole country round Kimberley, to the great disappointment of the two Republics, who thought they had a better claim to it (1871).

Meantime, in Cape Colony itself considerable progress had been made. About 1820 a great many British immigrants arrived, and settled, for the most part, in the eastern part of the colony round *Grahamstown*. Periodic hostilities with the Kaffirs—there were no less than five wars between 1815 and 1878—led to the territories of Cape Colony being extended up to the Orange River. As the colony prospered, both Dutch and British colonists demanded more control of the government; they obtained partial control in the fifties, while in 1872 Cape Colony became self-governing.

Progress of Cape Colony, 1815–72.

The thirty-two years preceding the Union of South Africa, from 1877 to 1909, have been years crowded with incidents, and these have been the subject of such acute controversy that it is difficult to explain them clearly in brief outline. The first of these incidents was the annexation of the Transvaal in 1877. The Transvaal had not prospered since its independence had been recognized. Divided leaders and an empty exchequer had paralysed its government. Its weakness had become a danger to the whole European population in South Africa, more especially as it was on the verge of war with the natives on its boundaries, and such a war, if successful for the natives, as it might have been, would have unsettled all the tribes elsewhere. Under these circumstances a British commissioner, who had been sent out with full powers, decided to annex the Transvaal to the British dominions, and his decision was supported by the Home Government.

Annexation of Transvaal, 1877.

This annexation had two effects. In the first place, it angered the Zulus who bordered on the Transvaal. They had been organized by *Cetewayo*, and possessed forty thousand warriors, and they had hoped to invade the Transvaal. The relations between the British and Zulus had hitherto been friendly; but, in the imagery of the latter, the English cow, as the result of the annexation, had neglected her own calf—Zululand,

Zulu War, 1879.

and was giving milk to a strange calf—the Transvaal. Various disputes led finally to war in 1879. The British suffered a disaster at Isandhlwana, where a detached force was surrounded and killed almost to a man; but this was followed by a British victory at Ulundi and the capture of Cetewayo, which led to the submission of the Zulus.

The second result of the annexation was the rising of the Transvaal Boers. The great majority had been opposed to the incorporation of the Transvaal in the British dominions, but it is improbable that any rising would have taken place if the British Government had carried out its expressed intention of granting self-government. Instead of that, both the ministry of Disraeli and that of Gladstone, which succeeded it, pursued a policy of what has well been termed "loitering unwisdom", and nothing was done. Then suddenly, in 1881, the Boers rose. The British commander, Sir George Colley, had only been in the country five months, and with a "scratch" force of one thousand two hundred men had to attempt the release of some isolated garrisons in the Transvaal. He underestimated the fighting capacity of the Boers and the strength of their position near *Laing's Nek*, and he was repulsed in two attempts to dislodge them. Then came the crowning disaster. The Boers, attacking in their turn, stormed *Majuba Hill*, a hill with a top like a saucer, the rim of which was held by part of the British forces; they forced the British back from the rim into the basin below, with the result that Colley himself was killed, and the defenders of the hill either shared his fate or were taken prisoners.

The First Boer War, 1881.

Just before Majuba, Gladstone's Government had been negotiating for a settlement with the Boers; it continued to negotiate after this disaster, and finally agreed to recognize the independence of the Boers, though they were to be under British suzerainty (1881). Whether Gladstone's ministry was right in this policy has been matter of fierce dispute. It has been urged in its defence that it was bound to continue the negotiations begun before Majuba was fought, and to carry them, if possible, to a successful issue. On the other hand, the fact remains that Gladstone's ministry, on entering office, had resolved to maintain the annexation; and the abandonment of this policy

Boer independence recognized, 1881.

a few months later, after three British reverses, led the Boers to believe that their independence was won by force of arms and to belittle the fighting powers of the British race.

Three years later, in 1884, the British Government, at the urgent request of the Boers, dropped the title of "suzerain power" and accorded to the Transvaal the title of *South African Republic*, though it preserved a veto on all treaties which the republic might make with foreign powers, and insisted on freedom of trade and residence for all Europeans (1884). By the same convention the boundaries of the Transvaal were strictly defined. But *Paul Krüger*, who as a boy of ten had taken part in the Great Trek, and was now president of the republic, had visions of a Boer Empire, which might dominate South Africa. Fortunately, however, for Great Britain, an Englishman who had settled in South Africa, *Cecil Rhodes*, had still wider visions of an empire under the British flag, which might match the mighty Dominion of Canada on the other side of the Atlantic. Largely through his efforts the successive attempts of the Transvaal Republic to extend its sway were foiled. Thus the republic's aggression in the west led the British Government to declare *Bechuanaland* a British protectorate in 1885; her activity was checked in the east by the British annexation of *Zululand* in 1887, and in the north by the creation in 1889 of the British South Africa Company, which obtained the control of the country now known as *Rhodesia*.

Paul Krüger and Cecil Rhodes.

Meanwhile the internal conditions in the Transvaal had been entirely altered by the discovery of the goldfields in 1886. People swarmed into the republic, and the town of Johannesburg sprang into being. In a few years the newcomers outnumbered the Boers. What was to happen? The policy of President Krüger was uncompromising. He imposed various restrictions which hampered the development of the mines, and, at the same time, proceeded to extract from their produce nineteen-twentieths of the taxes which he desired for the administration of the republic. Moreover, by various laws, he practically excluded the newcomers from having a vote or any share in the political control of the country.

The goldfields discovered, 1886.

The situation, there is no doubt, was an exceedingly diffi-

cult one. Between the old-fashioned, conservative, slow-moving Boer farmers in the country, and the bustling, active, somewhat cosmopolitan European gold hunters who lived in the town—*Uitlanders* as they were called—there could be little sympathy. It was natural that the former should be apprehensive of their nationality being stifled by the ever-increasing invasion of the newcomers, and should oppose any concession to them. On the other hand, it was impossible that educated Europeans, who formed a majority of the population and possessed more than half the land and nine-tenths of the wealth, should remain in the position of "helots", subject to the caprice of a government over which they had no control, and which was, in addition, notoriously corrupt.

The Uitlanders.

In 1895 matters came to a head. Preparations were made for an armed rebellion. Cecil Rhodes, who was premier of Cape Colony, supported the movement. He felt that the position of the Uitlanders was intolerable. Moreover, Krüger's policy blocked his great scheme of uniting South Africa; for Krüger tried to detach the republic commercially from the other states in South Africa by favouring in all possible ways the railway to the Portuguese harbour of Delagoa Bay, thereby rousing great resentment in Cape Colony and Natal. But the movement for rebellion ended in a complete fiasco; its leaders could not agree as to the best policy to be pursued, and gave up the idea. Dr. Jameson, however, who had collected some six hundred horsemen on the eastern frontier of the Transvaal, audaciously invaded the republic at the end of 1895, and had ignominiously to surrender with all his men four days later.

The Jameson raid, 1895.

The *Jameson raid* had evil consequences. It led to Rhodes resigning the premiership of Cape Colony—in Rhodes's own words, "it upset his apple-cart"; it embittered feeling between Dutch and British throughout South Africa; it encouraged President Krüger to make elaborate preparations for war; and the collapse of the raid caused the German emperor to send a telegram of congratulation to Krüger which aroused great resentment in Great Britain. Moreover, as the result of the raid, the lot of the Uitlanders became harder instead of easier, and the prospect of remedying the grievances by peaceful means more remote.

But Mr. Chamberlain, the British secretary of state for the colonies, and Sir Alfred (afterwards Lord) Milner, the British high commissioner at the Cape, were determined that something must be done. Protracted negotiations with Krüger led to no result, and war became inevitable. In October, 1899, Krüger issued an ultimatum, and shortly afterwards war was declared. The Orange Free State threw in its lot with the South African Republic, and Great Britain found herself involved in a formidable struggle, a struggle upon which depended not merely the future political privileges of the Uitlanders, but the existence of the British Empire in South Africa.

It is perhaps not a matter for surprise that the initial successes in the South African War should have gone to the Boers. They had made secret preparations for some time, whilst the British arrangements were incomplete. The Boers were all born fighters, campaigning in a country the conditions of which were familiar to them, and they possessed a mobility, through all being mounted on hardy ponies, which made them for some time extremely baffling foes for the British forces. Consequently, one Boer force was able to invade Natal and to shut up the British commander, Sir George White, in *Ladysmith*; another invested Kimberley, while a third crossed the Orange River and invaded Cape Colony. The British misfortunes culminated in the *Black Week* of December, 1899, when three reverses were suffered in six days. In Natal, Sir Redvers Buller, trying to cross the *Tugela River* in order to relieve Ladysmith, was repulsed, losing ten guns and nearly one thousand men killed and wounded. In the west, Lord Methuen attempted a night attack on the Boer position at *Magersfontein*, which barred the way to Kimberley, and failed, the Highland regiments suffering most severely. In Cape Colony, a night march made by Gatacre, with intent to surprise the enemy, resulted instead in the surprise and defeat of the British at Stormberg.

The South African War, 1899–1902.

The Boers, however, had made three miscalculations. In the first place, they expected that the Dutch in Cape Colony would join them; but though a certain number did so, the great majority remained neutral. Secondly, they relied on assistance

from European powers; but though the sympathies of European peoples, perhaps not unnaturally, were strongly with the Boers, the incontestable superiority of the British navy made any armed intervention too hazardous for any European Government to attempt it. Thirdly, previous experience had caused the Boers to belittle the fighting capacity of the British race and the determination of British statesmen. But Great Britain felt she was on her trial. Regulars and volunteers, militia and yeomanry, were poured into South Africa from Great Britain. The Uitlanders and British in various parts of South Africa formed themselves into corps which did invaluable service. Most significant of all, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand sent volunteer regiments to aid the mother country. By the end of 1900 Great Britain had more than a quarter of a million of armed men in South Africa. Moreover, Great Britain's two most trusted soldiers, *Lord Roberts* and *Lord Kitchener*, were sent out as commander-in-chief and chief of the staff.

Boer miscalculations.

The clouds then soon lifted. Lord Roberts relieved Kimberley, and captured at *Paardeberg*, in February, 1900, the Boer force under Cronjé, which had previously barred the way, and was then trying to escape. The day following Cronjé's capture, Ladysmith was at last, after various unsuccessful attempts, relieved by Buller. Lord Roberts occupied Bloemfontein in March and Pretoria in June, and both republics, of which these two places were the capitals, were then annexed to Great Britain.

British successes.

But the Boers held on with grim tenacity. They had, both before and after the capture of their two capitals, harassed Lord Roberts's communications, captured some of his supplies, and won various small successes. The Boers were excellent guerrilla fighters; their generals, *Botha* and *De Wet*, were ubiquitous; whilst the ex-president of the Orange Free State, *Steyn*, inspired the Boers with his own untiring zeal. Lord Roberts left South Africa in November, 1900, and then Lord Kitchener, his successor, gradually wore the Boer resistance down. Finally, in June, 1902, peace was made. By its terms the two republics were formally annexed to Great Britain; but the Dutch language was allowed in schools and courts of justice;

Boer tenacity.

the question of granting the natives a vote was left to each state to deal with;[1] and self-government was to be granted as soon as circumstances would permit.

Excluding those who died from disease, a not inconsiderable number, the British had lost six thousand lives and the Boers four thousand in the fighting, and the war had cost the British nation £200,000,000 in money. But the war had preserved South Africa for the British flag, and it made possible its subsequent union. No power could have acted with greater generosity than Great Britain did after the war. She spent five millions of her own money in resettling the Boers on their own lands, and she pledged her credit for loans amounting to forty millions to assist her new colonies, whilst Lord Milner for nearly three years supervised their reconstruction. At the end of that time representative government was introduced, followed by the grant of full self-government in 1906, only four and a half years after the end of the war—an experiment which, though apparently rash, has been wonderfully justified by its success.

British generosity after war.

Meanwhile the movement for the union of the South African States grew quickly. A national convention to consider its practicability began to sit in 1908, and concluded its labours in 1909. A wise spirit of compromise and toleration pervaded all parties and overcame all difficulties. *General Botha* was selected by the governor, Lord Gladstone (Mr. Gladstone's son), as the first prime minister, and in October, 1910, the new *Parliament of South Africa*, representing the Transvaal and the Orange River Colonies, Cape Colony, and Natal, was formally opened by the Duke of Connaught—not the least remarkable of the many remarkable events in South Africa during the past century.

The Union of South Africa, 1909.

We have dealt with the story of the self-governing colonies, and a word may be said in conclusion as to their present constitutions and their relations to the mother country. Each of the five dominions — Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, New

[1] It has been settled in the negative.

Zealand, and South Africa—has a Parliament consisting of two houses: the popular chamber, upon whose support the ministry is dependent, and which has the chief control in finance; and the other, called a Senate or Council, consisting either of nominated or of elected members. Every law has to be passed through both these assemblies. The degree of power allowed to the provinces composing Canada, Australia, and South Africa respectively varies; in Australia the provinces are given a great deal of independence, in Canada and South Africa not very much. With regard to their relations to Great Britain, each of the self-governing colonies has a Governor appointed by the Crown. He plays a part in each colony similar to that played by the sovereign in Great Britain. He selects the prime minister and acts as adviser in times of crisis; in addition to this he has the power of vetoing laws or of referring them to the British Government, though he would only do so if he held that they conflicted with imperial interests.

The colonies and their government.

Various attempts have been made of late years to bring the colonies and the mother country closer together. The first Colonial Conference was held in 1887, and others followed at intervals. They were attended by the prime ministers of the various colonies and by representatives of India. In future these conferences — Imperial Conferences, as they are to be called —are to be held every four years, the prime minister of Great Britain being the ex-officio president.[1] Moreover, a special conference dealing with imperial defence was held in 1909, whilst many people hope that a system of preferential tariffs may yet more closely unite the colonies and the mother country.

The British Empire in 1911 has a population of some four hundred and ten millions. It includes twelve and a half million square miles, or, in other words, it is ninety-one times the size of Great Britain and Ireland and thrice the size of Europe. It comprises one-fifth of the world's surface and over one-fifth of its inhabitants; and it possesses, it is said, nearly ten thousand islands and two thousand rivers. It has helped to develop Great Britain's enormous prosperity; but it has also brought upon Great Britain vast responsibilities. The

The British Empire, 1911.

[1] The first of these "Imperial Conferences" was held in 1911.

problems of the future, the problems of trade and of defence, the many problems connected with the government of the coloured races, are difficult of solution, but we may hope that the Empire's future leaders may possess sufficient foresight and statesmanship to deal wisely and patiently with them. The change that has come over the British race in its attitude towards its huge possessions makes it certain at any rate that Great Britain will not in the future be guilty either of indifference or want of sympathy in dealing with the manifold difficulties that lie before her in governing the vastest and most beneficent empire yet known to history.

TIME CHARTS

CHIEF EVENTS, 1603–1911

CHIEF EVENTS, 1603–88

	England, Scotland, Ireland.	Dates.	Other Powers.	Dates.
James I.	Hampton Court Conference.	1604		
	Gunpowder Plot.	1605		
	Colonization of Virginia.	1607		
	Plantation of Ulster.	1608		
		1610	Murder of Henry IV of France; Accession of Louis XIII.	1610
	Dissolution of James I's First Parliament.	1611		
	Death of Cecil.	1612		
	Death of Shakespeare.	1616		
	The Five Articles of Perth; Execution of Ralegh.	1618		1618
	Sailing of the *Mayflower*.	1620		
	James's Third Parliament meets; fall of Bacon.	1621		
	Journey of Charles and Buckingham to Madrid.	1623		
		1624	Richelieu, Chief Minister of France (1624–42).	1624
	Marriage of Charles and Henrietta Maria.	1625		
Charles I.	The Rhé Expedition.	1627		
	Petition of Right; Buckingham assassinated.	1628		
	Charles's Third Parliament dissolved; no Parliament for 11 yrs.	1629		
		1632	Death of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden.	1632
	Wentworth goes to Ireland; Laud Archbishop of Canterbury.	1633		
	Hampden's Case; new Service Book in Scotland.	1637		
	First Bishops' War.	1639		
	Short Parliament; Second Bishops' War; Long Parliament.	1640		
	Execution of Strafford; Irish Rebellion; Grand Remonstrance.	1641		
	Beginning of Civil War.	1642		
		1643	Accession of Louis XIV; Mazarin, Chief Minister (1643–61).	1643
	Battle of Marston Moor.	1644		
	Battles of Naseby and Philiphaugh.	1645		

Thirty Years War.

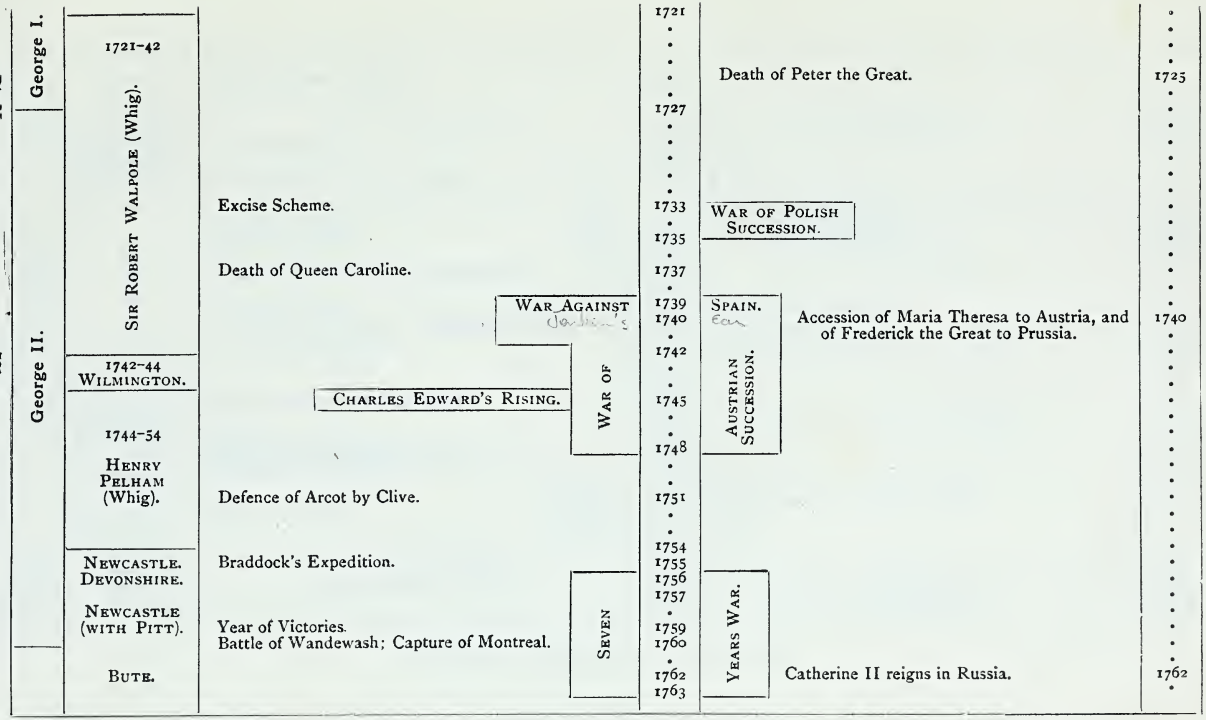
Commonwealth.	Second Civil War.	1648	Treaty of Westphalia.	1648
	Execution of Charles; Cromwell in Ireland.	1649		
	Battle of Dunbar.	1650		
	Battle of Worcester; Navigation Act.	1651		
	First Dutch War.	1652		
	First Protectorate Parliament.	1654		
	Capture of Jamaica.	1655		
	Second Protectorate Parliament.	1656		
	Blake at Santa Cruz.	1657		
	Capture of Dunkirk; Death of Cromwell.	1658		
Charles II.	Clarendon, Chief Minister.	1660		
	Corporation Act.	1661		
	Acquisition of Bombay and Tangier.	1662		
	Second Dutch War; the Plague.	1665		
	The Great Fire of London.	1666		
	The Cabal Ministry.	1667		
	Third Dutch War.	1672	William of Orange becomes Stadtholder in Holland.	1672
	Danby, Chief Minister.	1673		
	Death of Milton.	1674		
	The Popish Plot; fall of Danby.	1678	Treaty of Nimwegen.	1678
	Habeas Corpus Act.	1679		
	Dissolution of Oxford Parliament.	1681		
		1683	Death of Colbert.	1683
	Monmouth's and Argyll's Risings.	1685	Revocation of Edict of Nantes.	1685
James II.	James Edward born; Trial of Bishops; arrival of William III.	1688	Louis XIV invades Germany.	1688

CHIEF EVENTS, 1689–1763

Sovereign.	Prime Minister.	Great Britain.	Dates.	Other Powers.	Dates.
William III and Mary II.		Bill of Rights. Toleration Act.	1689		
		Death of Mary. Bank of England started.	1694		
			1697		
		Partition Treaty.	1698		
				Charles II of Spain dies.	1700
		Act of Settlement. Death of James II.	1701	Prussia becomes a Kingdom, Frederick I.	1701
Anne.		Godolphin's Ministry.	1702		
		Union with Scotland.	1707	Death of Aurungzebe, Great Mogul.	1707
		Tory Ministry under Harley and St. John.	1710		
				Charles VI becomes Emperor.	1711
			1713		
George I.		Whig Ministry.	1714		
		Mar's Rising.	1715	Accession of Louis XV.	1715
		Septennial Act.	1716		
			1717		
		Cape	1718	Passaro. Death of Charles XII of Sweden.	1718
		South Sea Bubble.	1720		

War of English Succession, or War of League of Augsburg.

War of Spanish Succession.


Pt. II.
George I.
1721–42
Sir Robert Walpole (Whig).
George II.
1742–44
Wilmington.
1744–54
Henry Pelham (Whig).
Newcastle. Devonshire.
Newcastle (with Pitt).
Bute.
Excise Scheme.
Death of Queen Caroline.
War Against
Charles Edward's Rising.
War of
Defence of Arcot by Clive.
Braddock's Expedition.
Seven
Year of Victories.
Battle of Wandewash; Capture of Montreal.
1721
1727
1733
1735
1737
1739
1740
1742
1745
1748
1751
1754
1755
1756
1757
1759
1760
1762
1763
War of Polish Succession.
Spain.
Austrian Succession.
Years War.
Death of Peter the Great.
Accession of Maria Theresa to Austria, and of Frederick the Great to Prussia.
Catherine II reigns in Russia.
1725
1740
1762

CHIEF EVENTS, 1760–1815

Sovereign.	Prime Minister.	Great and Greater Britain.		Dates.	Foreign Powers.		Dates.
George III.	Newcastle (with Pitt).	Bridgewater Canal.	Seven Years War	1760 1761 1762	War.	Catherine II reigns in Russia.	1762
	Bute. Grenville.	Battle of Buxar; Hargreave's Spinning Jenny.		1763 1764			
		Stamp Act; Watt's Steam Engine.		1765			
	Rockingham. Chatham. Grafton.	Stamp Act repealed. Cook's First Voyage to Australia.		1766 1767 1768			
				1770			
	1770–82 Lord North.	Warren Hastings Governor of India (till 1785).		1773	First Partition of Poland.		1772
				1774	Accession of Louis XVI.		1774
		American Colonies declare Independence.	American War of Independence	1775 1776			
		Death of Chatham.		1778	Independence. France joins America.		1778
		Crompton's "Mule".		1779	Spain joins France.		1779
				1780	Holland joins France.	Death of Maria Theresa.	1780
	Rockingham. Shelburne. Portland.	Independence of Irish Parliament.		1782 1783			
		Pitt's India Bill.		1784			
	1783–1801 Pitt.	Trial of Warren Hastings.		1788	Death of Frederick the Great.		1786

Sovereign.	Prime Minister.	Great and Greater Britain.	Dates.	Foreign Powers.	Dates.
George III.	1783–1801			French Revolution begins.	1789
		Formation of Upper and Lower Canada.	1791		
				French Republic set up.	1792
			1793	Execution of Louis XVI.	1793
	Pitt.	Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act.	1795	Rule of Directory in France.	1795
		Death of Burke.	1797		
		Marquis Wellesley Governor of India. (Irish Rebellion.)	1798		
		Union with Ireland.		Napoleon becomes First Consul.	1799
			1800		
			1801	Alexander I reigns in Russia.	1801
			1802		
	Addington.		1803		
	Pitt.		1804	Napoleon proclaimed Emperor.	1804
	Grenville. Portland. Perceval.	Death of younger Pitt. Slave Trade prohibited.	1806	End of Holy Roman Empire.	1806
			1807		
			1808		
		War with U.S.A. (Peninsular War.)	1812		
	1812–27		1814	Congress of Vienna.	1814
	Liverpool.		1815	Restoration of Louis XVIII.	1815

French Revolutionary War. Napoleonic War.

CHIEF EVENTS, 1815–1911

Sovereign.	Prime Minister.	Great and Greater Britain.	Dates.	Other Powers.	Dates.
George III.	1812–27	Battle of Waterloo; Lord Hastings in India, 1814–23.	1815	Treaty of Paris; Louis XVIII King of France.	1815
			•		•
			•		•
			•		•
	LIVERPOOL.	Occupation of Singapore; "Six Acts".	1819		•
George IV.			1820	Revolutions in Spain and Naples.	1820
			1821	Death of Napoleon I.	1821
		Liverpool's Ministry re-constructed.	1822		•
			•		•
			•	Charles X becomes King of France.	1824
			•	Nicholas becomes Czar.	1825
			•		•
	CANNING. GODERICH. WELLINGTON.	Battle of Navarino.	1827		•
			•		•
		Catholic Emancipation Act.	1829		•
William IV.		Manchester and Liverpool Railway.	1830	Revolutions in France and Belgium; Louis Philippe King of the French.	1830
	GREY.		•		•
		First Reform Bill.	1832		•
		Abolition of Slavery in British dominions.	1833		•
	MELBOURNE. PEEL.	Reform of Poor-Law.	1834		•
		Municipal Reform Act.	1835		•
		South Australia Colonized; the "Great Trek".	1836		•
Queen Victoria.	MELBOURNE.	Rebellion in Canada.	1837		•
		Lord Durham sent to Canada; *Great Western* crosses Atlantic.	1838		•
		First Afghan War.	1839		•
		Annexation of New Zealand; Penny Postage introduced.	1840	Alliance against Mehemet Ali.	1840
		Chinese cede Hong-Kong.	1841		•
	1841–6		•		•
		The Disruption in Scottish Church.	1843		•
	PEEL.		•		•
			•		•
		Repeal of Corn Laws.	1846	Spanish Marriage Question.	1846

WAR OF GREEK INDEPENDENCE.

Sovereign.	Prime Minister.	Great and Greater Britain.	Dates.	Other Powers.	Dates.
Queen Victoria.	1846–52 Lord John Russell.	Chartist Riots; Dalhousie Gov.-Gen. of India (till 1856); Second Sikh War; Anæsthetics introduced.	1848	The Year of Revolutions.	1848
	Derby.	The Great Exhibition.	1851	Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état*.	1851
			1852	Louis Napoleon becomes Emperor Napoleon III.	1852
	Aberdeen.		1854		
		Crimean War.	1855	War. Alexander II becomes Czar.	1855
	Palmerston.		1856		
		Second Chinese War.	1857		
	Derby.	Formation of Volunteers.	1858		
		Darwin's *Origin of Species*. Indian Mutiny.	1859	War of Italian Unity (1859–61).	1859
			1860		
	Palmerston.	Death of Prince Consort.	1861		
			1862	American Civil War. Bismarck becomes Chief Minister in Prussia.	1862
			1865		
	Russell. Derby. Disraeli.	Dominion of Canada formed; Second Reform Bill.	1866	Austro-Prussian War.	1866
			1867		
			1868		
	1868–74 Gladstone.	Irish Church Disestablished.	1869	Opening of Suez Canal.	1869
		First Irish Land Act; Education Act.	1870	Franco-Prussian War (1870–71); Republic in France; Formation of Empire of Germany.	1870
			1871		1871
			1874		
	1874–80 Disraeli.	Queen becomes Empress of India.	1876	The Bulgarian Atrocities.	1876
		Second Afghan War.	1877	Russo-Turkish War.	1877
		Zulu War.	1878	Treaty of Berlin.	1878
			1879		
			1880		
	1880–5 Gladstone.	First Boer War.	1881	Alexander III becomes Czar.	1881
		Bombardment of Alexandria, and Battle of Tel-el-Kebir.	1882		
	Salisbury. Gladstone.	Third Reform Bill; "Grab for Africa" begins.	1884	The "Grab for Africa" begins.	1884
		Annexation of Upper Burmah; Fall of Khartoum.	1885		
		First Home Rule Bill.	1886		

CHIEF EVENTS, 1815–1911 (*Continued*)

Sovereign.	Prime Minister.	Great and Greater Britain.	Dates.	Other Powers.	Dates.
Queen Victoria.	1886–92	Local Government Act.	1888	William II German Emperor.	1888
			•		•
	Salisbury.		•	Fall of Bismarck.	1890
			•		•
	Gladstone.		1892		•
			•		•
			•	Nicholas II becomes Czar.	1894
			1895		•
			•		•
	1895–1902	The "Diamond Jubilee" of Queen Victoria.	1897		•
		Re-conquest of Soudan.	1898		•
	Salisbury.		1899	Peace Conference at the Hague.	1899
		Federation of Australia. South African War.	1900		•
			1901		•
Edward VII.			1902		•
	Balfour.		1903		•
		Anglo-French Agreement.	1904	Russo-Japanese War, 1904–5.	1904
	Campbell-Bannerman.	Anglo-Japanese Treaty.	1905		•
			•		•
		Anglo-Russian Convention.	1907		•
			1908		•
		Union of South Africa; Indian Councils Act.	1909		•
George V.			1910	Portugal becomes Republic.	1910
	Asquith.				
		Parliament Act.	1911		•

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